

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

Announcement Regarding Annual Meeting.—Walter Lippmann, author of "Public Opinion" and other well-known books on Politics, and editorial writer on the *New York World*, will address the luncheon session of our Thirty-First Annual Meeting at Pittsburgh, on November 18. His subject will be "Public Opinion—What It Is and How It Works."

To the thousands who have read his books, it is necessary merely to state that Mr. Lippmann talks as well as he writes. The Allegheny County Civic Association, our hosts for the meeting, has guaranteed the hotel an attendance of 500 at this luncheon session, so you may know that we consider it important.



Miss Howe, the assistant secretary of the League, is spending two months in Europe in search of much needed rest.



The International Congress of Cities will meet in Paris, September 28 to October 4, under the auspices of the International Union of Cities. The meeting is held at the special invitation of the city of Paris, to which the French Government has added its patronage. An official invitation from the city of Paris has been sent to the mayors of all cities in the United States of ten thousand population or over. The National Municipal League will be represented, and all who are interested in municipal government are cordially invited to attend. The *American City Magazine*, 443 Fourth Avenue, New York, is acting as the American headquarters, and will be glad to answer questions and to handle other preliminary matters for any who are expecting to attend.



Activities of League Officers.—Dr. D. F. Garland of our council has spoken recently in Syracuse, Buffalo, Rochester, Schenectady and Indianapolis in favor of the city manager plan. Mr. Childs, Colonel Waite, Dr. Hatton and the League's secretary have participated in the charter campaign in Yonkers in favor of the adoption of Plan "C," which provides for the city manager form. W. J. Millard, our field agent, spent the last part of May in Schenectady aiding in the manager campaign in that city. Dr. Hatton is actively opposing the effort to repeal proportional representation in Cleveland. A campaign for a manager charter has opened in Rochester, New York, and the question will probably come to vote there in the autumn.



The Cause of Good Government has lost a sincere friend in the death of Herbert Quick, at the age of 64. He was at the University of Missouri to deliver a lecture to mid-western journalists when his old enemy, heart disease, made its fatal assault. Mr. Quick's close connection with the farm had turned his interest in recent years to the improvement of county government. His articles on a new form of county government, which appeared in the *Country Gentleman*, were reprinted in pamphlet form by the National Municipal League, and are being widely distributed. His able pen in a needy cause will be sadly missed.

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AT RANDOM

Representative Fletcher of the Ohio legislature recommends an intelligence test for legislators before they are permitted to take office.

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In spite of the energetic efforts of large civic groups the zoning bill for Philadelphia failed in the recent session of the legislature.

*

The Supreme Court of New Jersey has ruled against a zoning ordinance seeking to exclude apartment houses from zones restricted to one family homes.

*

Mayor Jackson of Baltimore has announced a plan for the abolition of all railroad grade crossings in the city before the end of his administration in May, 1927.

*

According to a report of the New York City Transit Commission, 155,000,000 railroad commuters entered the city during the year 1924.

*

Albert Sydney Gregg, writing in the May issue of the *Review of Reviews* on Cleveland under a city manager, testifies to the quality of the present manager and to the general calibre of the council. As far as Cleveland is concerned, he believes that the supreme test of the manager plan will come when a new council is to be elected in November.

City Planning, a new quarterly magazine and the official organ of the National Conference on City Planning, came into being with the April issue. Prof. Henry V. Hubbard is editor and Charles W. Elliott, 2nd, is assistant editor. The first issue includes a letter from Secretary Hoover and articles by Thomas Adams, Theodora Kimball Hubbard, Ebenezer Howard, M. N. Baker, John Ihlder and others. The magazine is attractive in format and illustrations and the high calibre of the editors and contributing editors guarantees the quality of the contents.

*

The Pan-American Conference, conducted by the American Civic Association on April 27 and 28 at Washington, brought together the representatives of the Latin American countries and the city planners of Europe who had a week before attended the International Conference on City Planning in New York city. The banquet session was devoted to Pan-American capitals and the luncheon session on Tuesday to the capitals of Europe. Exhibits from Pan-American capitals and a reception at the White House by the President and Mrs. Coolidge were features of the Conference.

*

Police chiefs who attended the International Police Conference last month in New York and who took

advantage of absence from home to violate the prohibition law were severely reprimanded in an address by Chief Forrest Braden of Louisville, Ky. Mr. Braden stated that foreign delegates had commented upon the apparent disrespect for the law displayed by the chief law enforcers and that he did not wish them to return to their homes with the impression that the American police did not obey the law. He explained that in the United States each city had its own independent police force and that local conditions sometimes brought unfit men into office as heads of police departments; but that the conduct of such "misfits" should not be allowed to bring the whole service into reproach.

*

Green County, N. Y., has adopted a psychiatric examination as routine procedure in criminal cases. The state commission of prisons approved the plan and says that it is a step in advance. Of the first ten prisoners examined, eight were first offenders, seven of whom were given suspended sentences on probation with conditions imposed in line with psychiatric opinion. The other first offender was found to be feeble-minded and was committed to a state institution. In the case of the two old offenders one was found to be psychopathic and was sent to the hospital for the insane.

When advised of the plan for a psychiatric examination, counsel for the defendants changed from pleas of "not guilty" to "guilty." Judge William E. Thorpe, before whom the

prisoners were arraigned, stated that one of the facts demonstrated by the examination was the suggestibility of the mind of a criminal and how easily he may be led into violation of the law.

*

Municipal Air Fields. Americans are rather case hardened against European criticism of municipal government but nevertheless there is some comfort in an article in the *Local Government News* (London) which asserts that the facts of comparative excellence are not always gratifying to English self-esteem. As an example of American ability to become adapted to new conditions, the writer mentions municipal interest in flying. The 1924 aerial map shows that there are no less than 201 municipal landing fields for aeroplanes in the United States, California leading with 24, Georgia and Texas coming next with 15 each. New York stands fourth with 13 and Florida follows with 10 owned by cities. Last November Detroit voted \$85,000 for a municipal aerodome.

And in England almost nothing has been done by local authority to anticipate the enormous possibilities in aviation. The writer points out that an aerodome is to the aeroplane what a harbor is to a ship or a road to an automobile, and as such it must be controlled in the public interest. The time has come when landing fields must be considered in the city plan and by taking thought for the future municipalities can save themselves much of the expense and trouble which we are now experiencing because of too late planning for parks.

COMPULSORY VOTING IN BELGIUM¹

BY THOMAS H. REED

University of Michigan

Compulsory voting defended by one who knows Belgium.

:: ::

COMPULSORY voting in Belgium dates from 1893 when it was introduced into the constitution along with universal male suffrage and plural voting. The ostensible reason for its adoption was the very large percentage of the limited number of voters under the old régime who had failed to register their votes. The proportion in absences from the polls to the number of qualified voters had been 26 per cent in 1870, 30 per cent in 1884 and 16 per cent at the bitterly contested election of 1892.

COMPULSORY VOTING ACCEPTED WITHOUT COMMENT

There was some excuse for this apparent disregard of civic obligation in the fact that prior to 1893 all voters had to repair to the chief place of the district to cast their ballot. Many refused to go to this trouble except at the expense of some candidate. It may be suspected that desire to avoid similar expenses in the enlarged electorate had something to do with the adoption of compulsory voting. At any rate it was adopted, and has remained a part of the Belgian constitution ever since. It was accepted without much complaint by the Belgian public and is now completely taken for granted. The only persons whom I have met who were keenly alive to the compulsory feature of their electoral system were women just after their first vote at the

municipal elections in 1921. To them it had all the interests of a novelty and they seemed very much struck with the fact that even the nuns in the convent had been obliged to go to the polls.

The provisions for the enforcement of the obligation to vote are to be found in articles 220-223 of the code electoral. The penalties provided seem rather slight. A first offense entails nothing more severe than a fine of from one to three francs and the first offender is not infrequently dismissed with a simple reprimand. For a second offense within six years the penalty is from three to twenty-five francs. If a third offense is committed within ten years of the first, the offenders name is posted on the wall of the city hall and the fine is again from three to twenty-five francs. The conviction for a fourth offense within fifteen years, however, in addition to the same penalty, deprives the voter of his right to suffrage for ten years during which time he can receive no appointment, promotion or distinction from any public authority.

The voter who expects to be unable to take part in the election may inform the justice of the peace of the reasons for his absence with the necessary excuses. If the justice of the peace accepts these excuses with the concurrence of the commissioner of police or burgmaster, there will be no prosecution.

NUMBER OF BLANKS

Slight as are these penalties they have proven amply efficacious. The number of abstentions from voting fell

¹ Those interested in compulsory voting should see the article by Professor Charles E. Merriam in the February REVIEW on "Compulsory Voting in Czecho Slovakia."

at once to less than six per cent and has remained in that neighborhood ever since, except in 1919 due to the disturbed conditions following the war. The number of blank ballots cast is sometimes considerable, but usually a voter led to water decides to drink. At the Brussels communal election of 1921 out of 81,693 votes cast, 8,018 or nearly ten per cent were blank or null. This extraordinary proportion is, however, easily explainable on two grounds; first that this was the first election in which women had voted on the same terms as men and second, because it was the first election in which a new and more complicated system of proportional representation had been tried. The best figures which are available on this subject are those for the elections of 1900 and 1912. They are to be found in the *Annuaire Statistique de Belgique et du Congo Belge*, 1914; pages 172-173.

In the election of the chamber of representatives in 1900 there were 2,135,036 votes cast of which 2,051,014 were valid. The percentage of blank and null ballots was therefore 3.8 per cent. At the election of the chamber of representatives in 1912 this percentage dropped to 2.3 per cent. These figures conclusively disprove the loose

statements sometimes made that a large proportion of the Belgian voters, although forced to the polls, refuse to record an effective vote. If we add the number of blank and null ballots to the number of qualified voters who fail to go to the polls we have a percentage of Belgians performing effectively the duty of suffrage far in excess of the results achieved in the United States.

I think it can be said without fear of contradiction by anyone familiar with the facts that compulsory voting is a success in Belgium. It has produced the results desired and it has met with the general acquiescence of the Belgian public. This fact is clearly established by the small number of cases which come before the justices of the peace throughout the kingdom. The following are the figures for the legislative elections of 1906-08-10 and 12.

CASES OF NON-VOTING BEFORE THE COURT

Year	Number of Voters		
	Acquitted	Reprimanded	Fined
1906.....	197	250	450
1908.....	250	229	378
1910.....	313	326	428
1912.....	755	709	737

A PROPOSAL TO CONTROL BILLBOARDS

SPECIALLY DEvised FOR PENNSYLVANIA BUT APPLICABLE TO OTHER STATES

BY J. HORACE McFARLAND, L.H.D.

THE state of Pennsylvania controls 10,307 miles of highways, of which 5,780 miles are improved, and on all of which maintenance is expended by the State. From 1919 to 1923, \$180,000-000 was expended on this highway system, and it is estimated that between 1923 and 1927 \$220,000,000 additional will be expended.

Travel on these highways is increasing rapidly, there being now in use more than one million registered motor vehicles, independent of horse-drawn and other traffic. This travel is generally conducted at an average speed of at least ten times that of twenty years ago. The result of increased traffic and increased speed on relatively narrow roads has been a great increase in accidents, showing more than a thousand deaths within a year, in addition to many non-fatal accidents. It is notable that the major portion of these deaths and accidents occurs on the straight-away stretches of the state highways.

To reduce so far as possible the increasing danger of the state highways, the secretary of highways has painted traffic lines on hundreds of miles of roads, and erected substantial guard-rails where they are needed, also increasingly placing along the highways signs giving readable warnings to motorists of crossings, turns, grades, school proximity, and the like. Thus the secretary of highways is putting forth every effort to protect and warn the users of the roads.

While property abutting upon the state highways is materially benefited

by the improvement of those highways, no benefits are assessed against such property, and it is therefore asserted that the owners of property abutting on the state highways *have no inherent right to their use other than for transportation purposes.*

It is insisted that the placing of private advertising on abutting private property, intended to be read from these highways, is therefore *not a natural right or a servitude properly imposed upon the highway itself.*

It is obvious, under the conditions above mentioned, that anything which diverts attention from the dangers of traffic or from the safe operation of the rapidly moving vehicles using the state highways, is an interference with the public safety.

Private advertising signs intended to be read by the users of the state highways must, if they have any value to the advertisers, divert attention from the dangers to the traffic, from the traffic lines, from the guard-rails, and from the official signs placed along the highway to warn users thereof of dangerous points, and are therefore an interference with the public safety, increasing the danger to those using the state highways.

These private advertising signs are by their very nature in direct opposition to the purpose of the official cautionary signs, traffic lines, and guard-rails. They are intended to attract and fix the attention of both the eyes and the minds of the operators of the rapidly-moving vehicles, in question.

Therefore, in the interest of public safety, and to increase the efficacy of the warning and directing efforts now being put forth, it was proposed in the so-called "Buckman bill" introduced in the legislature of 1925 to place under the control of the Secretary of Highways all advertising signs visible from the State Highways, authorizing him, under the police power of the State, to permit only those to remain or to be newly erected that do not, in his judgment, add to the dangers of the traffic on such highways by diverting the attention of the drivers of vehicles used thereon.

This general proposition has been discussed with Attorney General George W. Woodruff of the state of Pennsylvania; with Dr. Clyde L. King, secretary of the commonwealth; with William H. Connell, deputy secretary of highways of Pennsylvania; with former Judge Edward W. Biddle, of Carlisle; with Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, assistant attorney general of the United States;

with Hon. John Barton Payne, an ex-judge of the superior court, Chicago; with Everett L. Millard, a Chicago attorney who has successfully carried a famous billboard case through the United States supreme court, and with Frank B. Williams, counsel for the National Committee for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising, of New York city. All these authorities agree that the principle is sound and that the police power of the state can properly be exercised as proposed in protection of public safety along the state's highways. Another able attorney, in commenting on this proposition which he considers legally sound, adds the thought that as abutting property owners benefit greatly from the building of improved roads by the state and federal authorities, and as they are not assessed for any part of the cost of such roads, they might legally be restrained from maintaining or erecting private advertising signs that tend to interfere with the safety of traffic.

PHILOSOPHY OF A PERSONNEL SYSTEM

BY ALBERT SMITH FAUGHT

Being a comment on the article, "Governor Pinchot and the Merit System." :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE article in the April 1925 number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW entitled "Governor Pinchot and the Merit System" is worthy of the best traditions of the REVIEW. It appreciates the point of view of a zealous official whose honesty of purpose is unquestioned, and yet it unhesitatingly points out the consequences which may result from letting the "end justify the means." The article never loses sight of the dangers inherent in a personal

personnel plan which "is just what the executive makes it" in a state having 22,000 employees and an annual pay roll of over \$25,000,000.

Dr. H. W. Dodds in writing this article cannot be charged with prejudice, which is a matter of moment in this world when the easiest mode of defending an unsound case is by picturesque abuse of opposing counsel.

In Dr. Dodds' sympathetic critique of the personal personnel system, estab-

lished in the Keystone State by the Administrative Code of 1923, we find the statement made that "the governor or his secretary, has his hand in every appointment small or great" and that "the office of governor is a political office as well as an executive office, and a political disqualification, if serious, may become a moral disqualification in the mind of the executive."

In the administration of this system it is stated that during a fight over the selection of a speaker by the legislature of 1925 "the candidate for speaker being supported by Mr. Pinchot . . . when the fight was hottest, the governor discharged approximately a dozen state officers and employees and threatened others with dismissal in an effort to swing their political patrons into line behind the candidate." Letting the "end justify the means" in this manner will delay the coming of the time when "positions in the public service will offer a career, the rewards of which will be rewards for merit."

The present personal personnel system lends itself easily to just such an abuse, and the governor, if the incident related is true, points the way for his successors to abuse this system, for "his whole plan of personnel management is just what the executive makes it."

The philosophical defense of the system perhaps is found in Dr. Dodds' statement that "But if there is machine control of the executive, he (Mr. Pinchot) believes, there will be machine control of any civil service commission which can be devised."

But Dr. Dodds' own conclusion is based on a different philosophy in regard to Mr. Pinchot's personal

personnel system, that "an alert citizenry can secure its continuance and improvement in future administrations."

Pilate once asked: "What is truth?" but didn't wait for an answer. But is it not worth while now, while Mr. Pinchot is still governor to ask which philosophy is right? Could an alert citizenship prevent machine control of a civil service commission? Did it prevent the Philadelphia civil service commission as constituted several years ago from lending its aid to the appointment of a certain Gudehus as supervisor of playgrounds in Philadelphia? Has the alert citizenship, lead during the last few weeks by the Philadelphia Housing Association, prevented the present Philadelphia civil service commission from, (if it had so desired which is not proven), countenancing the designation of an unqualified person as head of the bureau of housing and sanitation?

Unsuccessful efforts were made during the session of 1925 by the Pennsylvania Civil Service Association to correct the weak spots in the present personal personnel system of Pennsylvania and to "institutionalize the merit system" by the passage of the Woodward State Civil Service Bill.

Yet the governor at this session made no visible or known invisible move to secure the passage of this measure or any other measure with a similar purpose, so we are left in the dark as to the plans of Governor Pinchot for correcting the weak spots in the present personal personnel law, a law so defective that the whole plan "is just what the executive makes it."

SEATTLE'S VOTE AGAINST CITY MANAGER PLAN

BY M. H. VAN NUYS

Secretary, Seattle Municipal League

Politicians and organized Civil Servants combine to defeat the plan.

THE amendment to the charter of Seattle, Washington, providing for a city manager form of government was defeated at the annual election, March 10, 1925, by 4,519 votes. Total votes cast for the amendment, 22,789; against it, 27,308. Total votes cast at the election, 56,615. Total registered voters, 118,210.

The proposed amendment was originally prepared by a committee of the Seattle Municipal League, and in December, 1923, the League invited the city council to place it on the ballot. The council declined. The League then invited a large number of civic organizations to send delegates to form a voluntary commission for drafting a city manager amendment. About twelve organizations did so. These delegates, sitting with the Municipal League committee as members of the commission, prepared an amendment somewhat altered from the committee's original draft. This proposed amendment was approved by the Municipal League.

Soon after the election of November 4, 1924, the League, with the co-operation of several of the larger women's civic clubs of the city, made a drive to have the amendment placed on the ballot at the election of March 10, 1925, by initiative petition. About 21,700 signatures to the petition were procured and filed with the city comptroller, although 11,806 was the required number. The services of those

who obtained these signatures were, as the law requires, gratuitous. Thousands of signatures were procured by the use of portable cloth booths, about 4 by 4 feet base, in downtown places.

POLICE TAKE SIDES

In the Pike Street Market the police attempted to intimidate the booth attendants, and arrested one of them for "obstructing traffic." An injunction suit was instituted. Public feeling was strong against the action of the police and the mayor, who had bitterly fought the city manager plan, promised that the police would not again interfere.

The petition with the required signatures had to be filed before January 23. Toward the last the campaign for signatures became intense, when hundreds of citizens were circulating petitions. This campaign for signatures, in addition to putting the amendment on the ballot, proved of great educational value.

The promoters of the campaign up to the date of the election succeeded in raising only about \$2,200 for the campaign fund. Not until late in the campaign was city manager literature distributed, owing to lack of funds. The educational work was done mostly through speakers, who served without pay. These speakers addressed any and every gathering wherever a call was made—women's clubs, church clubs, luncheon clubs, improvement clubs, and societies of every description

throughout the city. Many joint debates were held. During the week before the election, voters having telephones were asked to vote on the city manager amendment.

NEWSPAPERS DIVIDE

The city newspapers took no editorial stand until nearly the end of the campaign. Eight days before the election the *Star* entered on a strong and vigorous championship of the city manager plan, devoting a large part of the first page of each issue to an editorial supporting the plan. The following evening the *Times*, the other leading evening paper, came out against the plan with the plea that the manager would be the messenger boy of the city council. Meanwhile, the *Union Record* (labor) opposed the plan on the ground that the manager would be an autocrat in conspiracy with the financial interests and contractors. Two days later the *Post-Intelligencer*, the only morning paper, took a stand in favor of the plan. Its attitude was sedate and conservative, contrasting notably with the kind of campaign usually carried on by its sister Hearst papers.

The Chamber of Commerce, and with a few notable exceptions, the influential business men took no part. Many Protestant ministers recommended the plan. The Central Labor Council was unfriendly. But on the whole the sentiment of what may be called the great middle class, so far as could be observed, was inclining to favor the plan. Then suddenly, about two weeks before election, the tide began to turn. Up to this time there had been few opposition speakers.

ORGANIZED CITY EMPLOYEES TAKE A HAND

There are over 5,500 employees of the city under civil service protection. They include about 2,000 municipal

street car employees, about 640 firemen and about 629 policemen. These civil service employees have long been strongly organized and entrenched. It is believed they, their families and friends, can cast about 15,000 votes for or against any candidate or measure. Excepting several intelligent, independent citizens among them, who quietly favored a city manager, they were rigidly organized against the amendment.

Their organization worked under cover. All that is known is that city employees were heavily assessed for contributions to fight the plan, that anti-city manager literature was left, in several rounds, at nearly every home, store, office and shop throughout the city, that traffic police started to stick "No City Manager No" stickers upon the shields of private automobiles as they passed, but ceased when the *Star* exposed them, that during the ten days before election many city employees neglected their duties to do propaganda work.

Early in the campaign one, R. H. Atkin, head of the League to Preserve Popular Government, came out against the city manager plan. A *Star* reporter endeavored to learn who were members of this League, but all he was informed was that Mr. Atkin was a member and that there were some thousand members. The principal anti-manager literature was published under the name of this mysterious organization.

Two influential lawyers, each of whom had been corporation counsel of the city and one a former mayor, were retained to contest the legality of the city manager amendment. They published a statement that the amendment was illegal, but they decided not to institute the suit until and unless the amendment was carried at the election. They refused, however, to disclose the

names of their clients, and during the campaign spoke against and ridiculed the amendment.

DEFEATED BY CLOSE ORGANIZATION OF OPPONENTS

During the preparation of the city manager amendment and before it was finished, city civil service representatives had notified members of the Municipal League that if a clause in the proposed amendment, whereby the city manager had the final decision on dismissals of civil service employees, were eliminated, thus leaving the final decision in such cases with the civil service commission, the civil service employees would not oppose the amendment. This clause remained in, and the amendment had to undergo the strenuous opposition not only of the Civil Service League—the city employees' organization—but also of organized labor which strongly sympathized with the Civil Service League. During the campaign the speakers opposed to the city manager amendment adroitly avoided or soft-pedaled this clause, lest business men and others desiring an efficient administration should be won to the plan thereby.

Under the present city administration, bootlegging, gambling and hold-ups have alarmed the decent citizens. This condition may not be worse than in some other large American cities, but a sentiment that carried much weight in favor of the city manager plan was that a change could not make conditions worse. The present mayor, who called the proposed city manager plan a joke and who debated against it, had been re-elected in March, 1924. And the firemen and police had succeeded in having an initiative measure carried at the election in November, 1924, increasing their salaries \$25 a month, not-

withstanding that the minimum salary was \$125 a month, and that the city council had offered to allow \$10 a month increase.

At the same election, at which the city manager amendment was voted on, three councilmen were elected. They were known or believed to favor a city manager. Their opponents who fought the city manager amendment were beaten by majorities ranging from 7,000 to 20,000. It is believed that a majority of the voters favored the plan, but were divided over details of the amendment. It is the strategy of those who profit by ineffective city government to keep this vote divided. They succeeded at the last election, but another time the people may be forewarned and better advised. At least the sentiment is general that in another campaign a city manager plan will carry.

Throughout the campaign for the city manager plan the work was done mostly by young men or men in middle age, and by clubwomen—men and women without political motives. The father and leading spirit of the campaign for the city manager was James A. Haight, lawyer, who for a generation has been a leader in numerous reforms in the history of the city. Mr. Haight converted his office into the campaign headquarters and devoted practically his entire time to it.

The opponents of the city manager amendment resorted to all kinds of arguments. Their most effective arguments were that the amendment made no provision for an independent officer to check or audit the financial affairs of the city manager, and that the city of Cleveland expended over two million dollars more in 1924 than previously, citing, without further explanation, an article in *Collier's*.

THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTION OF LAST MARCH

BY ROBERT C. BROOKS

*The politics of a local election in England and how it is taking on the
color of national party alignments. :: :: :: :: :: ::*

WITH the London county election of March 5, 1925, the history of that metropolitan body seems destined to enter upon a third stage. It will be recalled that from the first election in 1889 down to 1907 the council was dominated by the Progressives (Liberals), except for a tie with the Municipal Reformers (Conservatives) in 1895. During the second period, from 1907 to 1925, the latter ruled the roost, with the dwindling Progressives as their chief opponents. The supremacy of the Municipal Reformers is left untouched by the election of the present year but from now on they will have as their chief antagonists a militant minority of Laborites. Also as a result of the polling of March 5, the Progressives, so numerous and powerful in the early days of the coun-

cil have been reduced to such a beggarly fraction that it is doubtful if they will ever again figure largely in the affairs of metropolitan London.

RUSSIA MADE AN ISSUE

It cannot be maintained that the campaign which preceded this striking shift of the political scenery was marked by any of the wild excitement which so frequently enlivens municipal elections in larger American cities. Indeed of recent years L. C. C. elections have been characterized by an extremely low percentage of participation. At the decisive election of 1907, which put an end to the dominance of the Progressives, it was only 55 per cent. In the two succeeding elections the figures hovered slightly above fifty per cent, but in the first election after the war (1919) it actually dropped to 17 per cent. Three years ago it was still under 37 per cent. Nor was the election of 1925 any exception, for official figures just published¹ show that only 30.6 per cent of the qualified voters appeared at the polls.

From an American point of view the amount of newspaper publicity given to the L. C. C. election was quite insufficient to illuminate the rather important issues and interests involved. In the current year, for example, the L. C. C. is expending £36,000,000. Such mention as the newspapers made of the campaign accrued for the most

EDITOR'S NOTE. Professor Brooks, is now on leave of absence from Swarthmore College and is devoting his time to a political pilgrimage through Western Europe. He enjoyed the privilege, unusual for an American, of being sworn in as an assistant for the election which he describes, and in this capacity visited in company with the chief retaining officer all the polling places in Westminster. At the recent parliamentary by-election in Walsall he was accorded the same privilege and witnessed every detail of the vote and the count. On April 15, he observed the Belgian general election with its interesting applications of P. R. and *apparentement*, his headquarters for the purpose being the Salle Gothique in the magnificent Hotel de Ville of Brussels. The REVIEW hopes to present an article from the same source dealing with the municipal election in Paris which was held on May 3.

¹ General Election of County Councillors, 5th March, 1925, bulletin No. 2364, published by the L. C. C., April 1925.

part to the advantage of the Municipal Reformers. At the end of the campaign a few political advertisements appeared in the principal papers. Here also the Municipal Reformers, owing to their larger campaign funds, made by far the greatest showing. One of their last day advertisements, occupying half a page of newspaper space, laid stress, first on Economy,—“L. C. C. rates reduced 1s. 3½d. in the £”; and next on Efficiency in Health and School Administration, also citing the statement which will be news in New York, that under the control of their party the London fire brigade was “the finest in the world.” Finally the advertisement announced that the Municipal Reformers had stopped the use of L. C. C. schools for Socialist Sunday Schools. The London Labor Party, it added, proposed that the council should take over “the bread, meat, milk, etc., supplies,” eliminating the small private trader, which would mean “a huge municipal trading concern with hordes of officials and high prices.”

Political observers residing in England cannot help being struck by the fact that at present the various political parties seem to be fighting quite as much over what is going on in Russia as over what is going on in England. Thus the advertisement above referred to concluded with the observation that “‘Labour’ members of the L. C. C. have attempted to get a Communist history of the Russian revolution taught in the Schools, and have advocated a socialist republic in England.” In general every effort was made by the Municipal Reformers to capitalize and anathematize the presence on the Labor ticket of a few Communists candidates.

Against the onslaught the Labor Party fought with great vigor. It is, of course, comparatively new in L. C. C. politics, having won its first seat in that body in 1904. The party made a

considerable effort in 1922, and was greatly disappointed at the result for it succeeded in electing only seventeen out of one hundred and twenty-four councillors. This year it redoubled its efforts. In the way of journalistic publicity it could count only on a few labor papers of no great aggregate circulation. The capitalistic press of London opposed it, of course, and also suppressed news regarding the policies and activities of the Laborites. On the other hand the latter were particularly busy in organizing voters and in holding campaign meetings devoted to the municipal ownership and social reform policies of the party.

MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADERS ELIMINATED

Nominations for the L. C. C. election closed on February 25. Only eight seats were left uncontested, among them being the four from the city of London. For the remaining one hundred and sixteen seats a total of two hundred and sixty-eight candidates appeared, one hundred and thirteen being Laborites, one hundred and ten Municipal Reformers, forty-one Progressives, and four running as independents. Forty-nine of the candidates were women. In the election of 1922, Municipal Reformers and Progressives fused in certain areas, but about a year ago the latter decided not to enter again into such pacts—a decision, by the way, which they have since regretted. Owing largely to the failure of the Progressives to muster a full quota of candidates there were only eleven constituencies in which as many as six candidates contested for the two seats. Under such circumstances, of course, the campaign tended to become a straight-out fight between Municipal Reformers and Laborites.

With such short ballots the voting was quite rapid. Most of the polling places were arranged on the one-way plan, a constant stream of voters coming in at

one door finding numerous sign posts to guide them, receiving ballots from an adequate number of clerks, marking them promptly, then passing out at the opposite door, all without crowding or confusion. In English elections women seem to vote in a purely matter of fact way. They do not wait for husbands to convoy them or for women friends to accompany them; they come in any old clothes, or it may be in any quite fashionable gowns they happen to have on at the time, often pushing prams, or leading children by the hand or Fido at the end of a leash; they seem to "know the ropes," which are simple enough in all conscience, quite as well as the men. Methods of getting out the vote, checking up on slackers and the like are much the same as in the United States. One fraction in this connection is of special interest. Automobiles may not be hired for the purpose of bringing electors to the polls, but friends of the party may contribute them freely. In this respect again the Municipal Reformers had a great advantage but the Laborites were by no means without Fords and some real cars.

The total number of voters on the registers was 1,914,915, of whom 954,826 were women. As a result of the election the Laborites increased the number of their councillors from 17 to 35; the Progressives dropped from 25 to 6; while the Municipal Reformers, who had held 82 seats before, made a net gain of one seat only. Nevertheless this leaves the Municipal Reformers with a majority over all of 42,— "a feat never previously accomplished in the history of the L. C. C.," as they jubilantly announced. However, their exultation should be somewhat tempered by the fact that never before have they faced an opposition so radical, so determined, and so confident of the future as the Laborites.

The election of 1925 is also interesting because of the gain made by women candidates, 21 having been elected as compared with 13 in 1922.

LOCAL AND NATIONAL CAUSES COMBINED

At the first meeting of the newly elected Council, held March 17, the margin of advantage held by the Municipal Reformers was further increased by the choice out of ten new aldermen of six members of that party, as follows: Sir Francis Anderton, Sir John W. Gilbert, Lord Haddo, Mr. S. C. B. Lankester, Lady St. Helier, and Mr. G. H. Walmisley. Three of the new aldermanic seats went to Messrs. R. Coppock, E. G. Culpin, and J. Senri, M.P., of the Labor Party; and one to Mr. W. G. Johnston of the Progressive Party. Of the aldermen at present serving who do not retire until 1928, the Municipal Reformers number seven the Progressives two, and Labor one. In the joint body of councillors and aldermen, therefore, the strength of the three parties is as follows: Municipal Reformers ninety-six; Labor thirty-nine; Progressives nine.

One of the arguments most frequently advanced by the Municipal Reformers during the campaign was that the L. C. C. should be dominated by the same political party as that prevailing in the House of Commons. Otherwise dire conflict was predicted between the Conservative government at Westminster and a radical government in County Hall across the river. Whether these prophecies were justified or not the relative position of the three parties is now much the same in the two bodies. Under the circumstances the Conservative—Municipal Reformers have no excuse for failure. And more than ever the future of metropolitan politics seems likely to follow the same course as that of national politics in England.

NEW COURT DECISIONS ON ZONING

BY EDWARD M. BASSETT

Massachusetts and California report distinct progress; but adverse decisions in Maryland and Missouri emphasize the importance of sound enabling acts. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

ZONING is largely a legal proposition. Consequently a discussion of the recent zoning decisions handed down by the highest courts of Maryland, Massachusetts, Illinois and California is in order.

This country has had nine years of experience in zoning. During this time four necessary requirements of a sound zoning ordinance appear to have been established:—

(1) The state legislature is the repository of the police power and must grant the power to zone to the municipality.

(2) The state enabling act must prevent easy changes in the ordinance. This is usually accomplished by the 20 per cent protest.

(3) The state enabling act must give the power to a discretionary administrative board, usually called a board of adjustment, to vary the strict letter of the law and issue permits in cases of practical difficulty or unnecessary hardship.

(4) After the municipality has received the power to zone, it must in the zoning ordinance treat land and buildings reasonably and see that the regulations are related to the health, safety, morals or general welfare of the community.

MASSACHUSETTS SUSTAINS ZONING

The Brookline and Lowell (Mass.) cases arose before the state enabling act contained provisions as above for a board of adjustment. Nevertheless

the supreme judicial court decided both cases in favor of zoning. The Brookline case squarely presented the question whether a one-family detached house residence district on the use map, in which a multi-family house was prohibited, was a valid regulation under the police power. The courts of New Jersey had said no. The lower court in California had said no. Conservative advisers throughout the country had said that this was a dangerous method of zoning, but had looked forward to court decisions that would uphold it. The reason why it was considered dangerous was because it appeared hard to convince the courts that a two-family house in an acre of land was less healthful, safe or moral than the ordinary one-family house. This was the reason given by the courts of New Jersey and the lower court of California. The supreme judicial court of Massachusetts declare that a single family house district on the use map is a reasonable classification under the police power and that it has some relation to health, safety and morals. The court go further and make a pronouncement that is basic in the consideration of zoning. They declare that the question is not whether they approve such a regulation, but whether they can pronounce it an unreasonable exercise of power having no rational relation to the public safety, public health or public morals. This soundly argued opinion by Chief Justice Rugg is the first court decision in this country

in favor of one-family detached house districts on the use map, and undoubtedly will for generations be considered as one of the foundation stones in modern zoning.¹

At the same time this court handed down their decision in the *Milton* (Mass.) case. This decision is just about as important as the *Brookline* case. The court declared that the prohibition of a store in a residence district on the use map is a reasonable exercise of the police power. The attitude of the court on this point is vital for zoning. If new stores can be built at will in residence districts and residences can be changed at will into stores, one of the main benefits of zoning is obliterated. The famous Missouri and New Jersey test cases declared that stores could not be prevented in residential districts. The Massachusetts court consider that such exclusion has a real relation to the health, safety and morals of the community. This opinion is also written by Chief Justice Rugg.² He it was who wrote the well-known Opinion of the Justices in the early days of zoning in Massachusetts in support of a proposed constitutional amendment for zoning. Some will say that the fact that Massachusetts had amended its constitution in favor of zoning was a factor in bringing about these two decisions. A reading of the Opinion of the Justices and of these two decisions will convince one that it was not.

ENABLING ACTS NECESSARY

The highest court of Maryland handed down their decision that it was unconstitutional to prohibit a tailor shop in a residence district in Baltimore. The decision is tantamount

¹ *Brett v. Town of Brookline*, 145 N. E. 269 (October, 1924).

² *Spector v. Town of Milton*, 145 N. E. 265 (October, 1924).

to a declaration that a store cannot be prevented in the state of Maryland in a residence district under a zoning plan. It is noticeable that the three states, Missouri, New Jersey and Maryland, that have arrayed themselves against the protection of residence districts, did not have state enabling acts supplying the essential elements enumerated at the beginning of this article. Missouri had not passed any enabling act for zoning St. Louis before that city adopted its zoning ordinance. The city depended on a charter provision authorizing the control of trades. The court said that this referred to nuisance and non-nuisance uses. Of course, zoning is an entirely different subject from that of common law nuisances. It seems to need a specific enabling act passed by the state legislature authorizing zoning to convince the courts that something more than the segregation of nuisances is intended. New Jersey had a patchwork of zoning enabling acts when its highest court decided that stores could not be excluded from residence districts by zoning. The board of adjustment features, however, were defective and the constitutional test arose on mandamus instead of, as it should, on certiorari. New Jersey now has one of the best zoning enabling acts in this country, and through the instrumentality of the boards of adjustment the courts may begin to favor zoning.

Baltimore adopted its zoning ordinance without any state enabling act for zoning. It depended upon a home rule constitutional provision for Baltimore and the provisions of a home rule charter authorizing the control of trades. The court allow the force of Baltimore's claim to have zoning powers but conclude that the exclusion of stores from a residence district is an unreasonable and un-

lawful exercise of such power. The history of zoning in this country proves that the courts are more likely to uphold zoning if there is a state enabling act for cities to employ than if the cities depend upon home rule provisions in constitutions.

Michigan declined to recognize that Detroit had the power to zone itself under a home rule charter authorized by the constitution. The main instruction in the Baltimore case is that courts are not ready to give much weight to charter provisions framed before the subject of zoning had been developed, and which charter provisions are not based upon a state zoning enabling act. The minority opinion in this case is one of the best ever handed down.³

ILLINOIS TAKES ANOTHER TACK

The next decision is that of the highest court of Illinois.⁴ This case arose in Aurora and also involved the question of the constitutionality of the exclusion of stores from residence districts under a zoning plan. Inasmuch as the ordinance allows existing stores in a residence district to continue, the court declare that under the particular words of the constitution of Illinois they are compelled to hold that a new store cannot be prevented. They say that the state constitution provides that the state legislature shall not pass local or special laws granting any special or exclusive privilege, immunity or franchise whatever. They cite a line of decisions of the courts of Illinois which convince them that the permission of an existing store to continue in a residence district when new stores are prevented is a special privilege of the prohibited order.

³ *Goldman v. City of Baltimore*, 128 Atl., 50 (February, 1925)

⁴ *City of Aurora v. Burns*, Supreme Court of Illinois, February 17, 1925.

Fortunately, most of the other states do not have these words in their constitutions and consequently this decision will have no effect on such other states. It is hard to understand why the continuation of an existing use should be considered a special privilege of the prohibited sort. Certainly it would be a great hardship to oust existing stores constituting an honest and lawful investment in a residence district at the time they were made. Modern cities establish fire limits, but do not cause every existing frame building within the fire limits to be torn down. One might conclude that fire limits are unconstitutional in Illinois. Lord Bacon said: "Since things alter for the worse spontaneously, if they never be altered for the better designedly, how is the evil to stop?" If each zoned municipality in Illinois should amend its ordinance so as to make a small business district out of every lot that contained a store when the zoning ordinance went into effect, then presumably the courts could find no fault with the exclusion of new stores,—at least not on the ground that caused them to decide as they did in the Aurora case. This change can frequently be accomplished by a blanket provision in the ordinance itself without altering the maps. Illinois municipalities are proceeding to do this.

CALIFORNIA SWINGS OVER

The new California decisions of the highest court of that state are so comprehensive and exhaustive that they constitute the turning point in favor of zoning in California. The Miller case,⁵ involving a multi-family house in a two-family house district on the use map, and the Zahn case,⁶ involving

⁵ *Miller v. City of Los Angeles*, 234 Pac., 381 (February, 1925)

⁶ *Zahn v. City of Los Angeles*, 234 Pac., 388 (February, 1925)

a store in a residence district, were decided against zoning in the court below. These adverse decisions produced consternation throughout the state. Their complete overturn by the highest appellate court has established zoning on a firm foundation. Without copying the Massachusetts decisions the court arrive at substantially the same results and for the same reasons. Too much praise cannot be given to the officials of the state of California who fought these cases to the highest court and won. It is now firmly established in the state of California that reasonable zoning which excludes a multi-family house in a

detached house district on the use map, is constitutional, and that the reasonable exclusion of a store from a residence district is constitutional.

These Massachusetts and California decisions are so overwhelmingly in favor of zoning that they may tempt these two states to embark on fanciful and unreasonable zoning plans. These states, as well as all others, will do well to keep in mind that private restrictions cannot be translated into police power zoning with safety, and that zoning must relate to the health, safety and morals of the community and must be reasonable and impartial in its regulations.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY PLANS A NEW GOVERNMENT

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS

Vice-President, National Municipal League

Westchester County will vote on the adoption of a home rule charter in November. It resembles the plan of government of second class cities in New York State. :: :: :: :: :: ::

WESTCHESTER is the county which adjoins New York city at the north. It is growing in population, now 500,000 people in a space 25 miles square, and is becoming increasingly urban in character in a hit-or-miss way. Governmentally it is divided into four cities, twenty-three incorporated villages and eighteen townships with the usual weak decentralized type of county government over all, struggling awkwardly with the broad problems of public works and planning aided by much special, piece-meal enabling legislation from Albany. Its only "executive" is a board of 41 supervisors of very mixed

quality and possessing no effective authority over the numerous separately-elective administrative officers. Being interested in their towns, they watch town interests rather than the tax rate. The other county officers want funds for their own offices and likewise forget the tax rate.

The real government is centralized, informally by long usage, in a small "Conference Committee" of several of the supervisors and several of the members of the Republican county committee, an honest group at the moment but politically partisan and given naturally to private sessions. Its dominating

figure is William L. Ward, a wealthy manufacturer widely respected even by his opponents, whose complaint is that his zeal for progress is colored by an old-fashioned sense of the sanctity of the Republican party. It is this group that secured a constitutional amendment authorizing the legislature to enact new forms of government for Westchester and Nassau counties and prepared this new act which passed the legislature in March and goes by referendum to the people of the county at the November election of 1925.

The charter commission found at the outset that the big unwieldy and ineffective board of supervisors was too firmly entrenched in the affections of the voters of the rural sections of the county to be dislodged or revamped. In those sections the supervisors exercise important and lucrative township functions and are often outstanding local political figures and men of ability. The supervisors from the wards of the four cities are relatively obscure and have no local functions to make the office worth the time of strong men. A further difficulty in dealing with the supervisors was that of working out an acceptable plan of districting for a smaller board and the likelihood of extinguishing the Democratic minority representation in the process. Rather ingeniously, the charter commission accordingly copied nearby examples in Yonkers and New York city, by creating a so-called board of estimate of three members elected at large, and centered in this board much of the power of the supervisors while leaving the latter to continue in existence with diminished powers. The scheme seems to have been politically effective at this writing and illustrates how the popular mind often works—there is little outcry against depriving the supervisors of the bulk of their powers as long as

the office and the geographical arrangement remains intact!

A SHORTER BALLOT

The elective officers under the new charter will be:

1. County president, who appoints six department heads.
2. Vice-president, who presides over the board of supervisors.
3. Commissioner of finance.
4. Sheriff.
5. County clerk.
6. District attorney.
7. County judge.
8. Surrogate.
9. Forty-one supervisors as before, elected from townships and city wards.

The first three are elected for four-year terms and constitute the board of estimate.

The election of the next five is required by the constitution. The constitutional amendment did not clearly make it possible to make the sheriff, and county clerk appointive under the county president as would have been desirable.

The following officers, formerly elective, were taken off the ballot:

Commissioner of public welfare—a very important officer in Westchester controlling large institutions—made appointive by the county president.

Coroners—abolished and replaced by a medical examiner appointed (illogically) by the board of supervisors.

Treasurer and

Comptroller—consolidated in the elective commissioner of finance.

THE WHY OF THE BOARD OF ESTIMATE

The board of estimate is, I think, an institution known only in this state.

New York city and most of the second- and third-class cities of the state have it, as it was part of a uniform law applicable to all cities passed a generation ago. In the second- and third-class cities it consists of three elective officers including the mayor, and two of the mayor's appointees, so the mayor controls three votes of the five. There is likewise a board of contract and supply in those cities with a similar arrangement of membership. The board of estimate makes up the budget subject to review by the city council; the latter supervises purchases and letting of contracts. This complex but strongly centered scheme has been locally much admired for the reforms it brought in as compared with the more irresponsible board of aldermen preceding it, but it has not spread to other states and has now given way to commission and city manager charters in some cases. The draftsman for the Westchester county charter commission, having been mayor of Yonkers for several terms, was schooled in that type of charter and copied it with unimaginative fidelity in the earlier drafts. Subsequent whit-tling lapped off one item after another until in the county charter the board of estimate became one of three members all elective, and the board of contract and supply became identical in membership with the former—a manifest improvement.

The board of estimate receives the estimates gathered by the county president, fixes salaries except those fixed in laws, creates or abolishes positions in all departments including those of the independently-elective sheriff, county clerk, district attorney, etc., and prepares the budget after public hearing for submission to the board of supervisors. The latter has the month of December to conduct hearings also and to diminish or reject any items except salary items. It cannot increase any

item or add any new ones or make separate appropriations during the year. The exclusion of salary items is, of course, designed to prevent irresponsible and *ad hominem* slashing of salaries; it is justifiable, perhaps, on practical grounds and on the ground that the board of estimate, also a representative body, has passed the salaries and is more responsible for the resultant tax rate than the supervisors are. The power of the supervisors, as far as it goes, is final; their reductions cannot be vetoed by the county president as the board of alderman's reductions in New York can be by the mayor. Other powers of the board of estimate aside from those that go with the creative process of budget making are investigative, relative to the county's many vast and unsolved problems of highways, sewers, water, zoning and "other matters" for study of which it may create a staff and publish reports. This work, if put into good hands and kept there, may develop into an agency of expert county planning of far-reaching influence, thanks to its detachment from routine operating functions.

Sitting under its other name of board of contracts and supply, this board lets contracts subject to general ordinances enacted by the supervisors. Its secretary replaces the present purchasing agent, and the board may empower him and departmental offices to make purchases under the \$500 limit below which public bidding is unnecessary.

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE

The county president as chief executive gives to the county for the first time an officer comparable to a mayor or governor. He appoints without confirmation the heads of six departments who hold office at his pleasure—public welfare (formerly elective), law (the county attorney, formerly chosen

by the supervisors), public works and buildings, engineering, weights and measures, and health, a new department. A department of parks will eventually probably be added when the current creative work of the county park commission in establishing a \$10,000,000 park system gives way to ordinary operating functions.

The salary of the county president is fixed at \$15,000. His duties are to see that the county offices and departments faithfully perform their duties and see that laws of the state and the ordinances of the supervisors are enforced. He has power to receive and examine into complaints against county officers, examine their books and papers, subpoena witnesses and records and make a monthly audit of the receipts and disbursements of the commissioner of finance. He executes on behalf of the county all deeds and contracts. His inquisitorial powers apply to the independently elective sheriff, county clerk and district attorney as well as to his own appointees, and with his influence in budget making will combine to enable him to enforce economy and efficiency in those offices to at least a better extent than the board of supervisors could. Ideal unity, of course, would call for putting the sheriff and county clerk under his appointment like the other operating departments.

In the hands of a vigorous and ambitious man, the county president is capable of being made a conspicuous and vitalizing office that will emphasize the new unity of the county administration and encourage the growth of the administrative service by the addition of new functions.

TOWNSHIPS NOT AFFECTED

Township government is left untouched by the new charter, a disappointment and cause of criticism of the

commission's work among a few who favored more drastic changes. The township governments, decentralized, obscure, easy-going affairs, are inadequate under the semi-urban conditions. Their inefficiency and inadequacy is a perilous weakness in the existing situation. The charter commission obviously feared to stir up a hornet's nest by blowing up the township job-holders and left them strictly alone. This may be good statesmanship and the surest progress. For if the new county government presently develops the strength and technical superiority it is due to, it will grow at the expense of the towns and villages. The central health department should gradually make the little one-horse local health services obsolete and superfluous. The county engineer should acquire an ascendancy over the local amateur committees. It is only necessary to leave the little units as feeble as they are to insure their drying up in the presence of a county-wide service.

Transfer of township powers, also, can proceed more confidently if the county once becomes a safe and solid place to transfer the powers to. At some future date it will be easier to create a county police to replace the town constables or a county court of minor jurisdiction to replace the justices of the peace. The Nassau county charter which will be submitted next November, too, proposes both these reforms forthwith, but there are only three townships there and such earthquakes were easier.

The county government, once it gets established and able to do things without staggering, will acquire by legislative powers not ordinarily entrusted to counties and may begin to provide transit, fire protection, traffic regulation and numerous new services.

The new structure seems strong enough to bear many additional stories,

and its piece-meal growth will stir up little opposition.

CHANCES OF PASSAGE

The chances of passage at the referendum in November seem bright. The supervisors themselves passed it with one or two real improvements. The dominant political machine favors it, but may not realize that a machine cannot muster a straight party vote on a referendum as it can on candidates. The county treasurer, whose office is to be abolished, is campaigning for it. There is a talk of the county president being a czar and a shuddering over the "great power" of the board of estimate although their powers in patronage and money barely match those of the corresponding officers in Yonkers or any other city of 100,000. The rural vote, always fearful of strength in government, seems to me to be certain to get

wrong-headed about it. Governor Smith has spoken vigorously for it, and that will help with the Democrats.

The League of Women Voters of the county has a divided opinion. Its leaders, apparently without full authority, attacked the charter hastily in the very brief period between the time it was adopted by the commission and the closing of the legislative session at which it was to be passed. On one very important and central point—a double vote given to the county president in the board of estimate—they were sound and their quick publicity secured a last-minute correction. On numerous other points they went astray and uttered some political science quite opposite to the principles enunciated by their national organization in its excellent "Know Your County" pamphlet.

DEFEAT OF MAYOR DEVER'S TRACTION ORDINANCE

WAS IT, OR WAS IT NOT MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP?

BY CHARLES K. MOHLER

Consulting Engineer

*The Chicago municipal ownership ordinance examined by one who
opposed it. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::*

ON April 7, Chicago voters defeated by a majority of about 105,000, the so-called municipal ownership ordinance for acquiring the local transportation lines.

In 1918, a franchise ordinance for

EDITOR'S NOTE. While the editor cannot wax enthusiastic over Mayor Dever's plan, now relegated to the happy hunting ground of lost causes,

consolidating and unifying the surface and elevated lines under a board of trustee management was rejected by over thirty three thousand majority.

he feels that it is only fair to the mayor to remember the restraints upon his bargaining power imposed by legal limitations upon the city, to some of which Mr. Mohler refers.

CITY FINANCIALLY LAME

Chicago is now bonded up to the limit of its borrowing power, about ninety million dollars for all purposes, against its general credit.

But Illinois laws provide for the issuing of certificates for revenue producing public service undertakings, which certificates can be made a lien against the property employed in the undertaking and against the earnings. Through a court decision based on far fetched reasoning, a city may not contract to grant a franchise for the operation of the enterprise in case the city defaults payment on the obligations and the property is sold, therefore the obligations issued by the city can carry no grant of a franchise to operate in case of foreclosure.

The city cannot condemn the property as in that case it must have the cash to pay for it. But it cannot get the cash as the securities issued must be secured by the property and the earnings from operation. The city is thus obliged to find a willing salesman to turn over the property in exchange for securities issued by it against the property sought to be purchased and against the earnings.

COMPANIES' FINANCIAL SITUATION

The present franchise of the surface lines will expire in less than two years at which time their bonds fall due. Without a sale to the city or the grant of a new franchise to enable refinancing, the surface lines will go into receivership.

The outstanding lien bonds amount to over \$140,000,000. There are about \$31,330,000 of stock or \$171,716,712 total securities. (The stock of the south side lines amounts to \$30,400,000, nearly all pledged to secure about \$21,000,000 of collateral trust bonds.) The total capital account or purchase

price to the city is approximately \$163,000,000. For each mile of the 993.6 miles of track the average capital account price is about \$164,000.

The price to the city named by the elevated lines was \$85,000,000. It is \$15,000,000 more than was named in the 1918 ordinance.

"POLITICS FOR PROFIT"

It was not expected that the companies would consider the rejection of the 1918 franchise as a final defeat. They began devising other means of transmuting traction exploitation water into gold and still continue in control of the city's transportation system. Accordingly, about four years ago, an alderman announced his discovery of "A financial plan for municipal acquisition of the properties and operation —". The ordinance just defeated was founded on this plan.

It was: That the city acquire and unify both elevated and surface lines; that in payment the city would issue certificates or bonds which would be a lien against the property acquired and the earnings thereof; that the control and management of finances, extensions and operation should be vested in a municipal railway board, the board to consist of nine members, three appointed by the city, three by the security holders or bankers' committee and three to be selected jointly in agreement by the certificate holders' committee and the mayor; members of the board to serve for a term of nine years. No provision was made for the removal of any member of the board either by the mayor, city council or popular recall. The members of the board were only to be subject to removal for misfeasance, in accordance with state law.

Very elaborate provisions were made covering a trust deed for conveying the property to the city, for the issuance of

securities by the city in exchange for the property, and for the construction of extensions and acquiring equipment, the mayor being authorized to select a trustee (trust company) to supervise the execution of the various covenants. A very elaborate picture plan was presented for acquiring and unifying both surface and elevated lines, for various extensions of these, and for subway construction and the purchase of all kinds of operating equipment. The sums involved for this program were variously estimated to be between \$600,000,000 and \$1,000,000,000.

THE RAINBOW OF PROMISE

The chief claims for the ordinance were as follows:

1. That the unification of surface and elevated lines would result in greatly extended and improved service;
2. That the property was worth more than the price agreed upon;
3. That it took the traction question out of politics;
4. That unless this settlement was effected, chaos would result when the surface lines were thrown into receivership early in 1927;
5. That the bankers would not re-finance the lines on a twenty year franchise grant;
6. That the properties were to be turned over to the city without the payment of a single dollar;
7. That the only security behind the certificates given in exchange for the property was the property itself and the earnings through operation; such being the case, the security holders could very well demand a voice in the management in order to insure the payment of their claims;
8. That fares during the first year would be seven cents for the entire system and, on account of universal transfers between elevated and surface lines,

would in substance be a lower fare than now paid; also at the end of the first year, the fare would be reduced to six cents;

9. That it would mean "a greater, cleaner Chicago. Fewer slums. Better health. Immediate prosperity through employment of thousands in construction work";

10. That it would not increase taxes.

AS THE OBJECTORS VIEWED IT

Some of the objectionable features as pointed out by those opposed to the ordinance were in substance as follows:

1. That, while unification is desirable and better service much needed, the sacrifices proposed to secure these were much greater than the advantages to be gained.

2. That the price demanded for both the elevated and surface lines was much more than the property was actually worth. (Values are discussed more in detail later.)

3. That the ordinance in substance amounted to a perpetual and unregulated franchise grant and that, while the city nominally gained title to the property, in reality the control of financing, construction and operation would still be left in the hands of the present companies.

4. That as far as exercising any control affecting the general welfare was concerned, the question would be taken out of politics. However, in the matter of graft and spoils politics, the question would be immersed and saturated to a greater extent than it has been at any time in the past. As Delos F. Wilcox put it, the traction question would be put in "glorious politics". For the \$600,000,000 or more securities to be issued there was a possible margin of 10 per cent in the amount of securities issued over the cost of the property constructed or acquired. There would be not less than about \$400,000,000 of

contracts to be let and purchases made. Letting contracts or tipping off inside information to friendly contractors is not an unknown procedure even among such honorable gentlemen as were promised for membership on the municipal railway board. The service would be entirely in the hands of the board, none of whom the city would have any power to remove except through court procedure. The board members might be lazy, inefficient, indifferent, extravagant or mildly corrupt without any possibility of being held responsible to the public will.

5. That, even though the membership of the board were beyond criticism or reproach as individuals, there was still the impossible situation of divided responsibility between the city's representatives and the security holders' representatives. Passing the buck would become a pastime if not a fine art.

6. That, while receiverships are not desirable, still the difficulties resulting were very much magnified. It was claimed that the old companies which were consolidated and unified into what is now known as the Chicago surface lines would be broken up into their old constituent units with separate receiverships and the single fare with universal transfers would be lost. There is no apparent reason why the city should not be appointed the receiver to serve the public interest and welfare and at the same time conserve funds for paying off defaulted bonds. One of the elevated lines in Chicago was in the hands of a receiver for years and its business carried on apparently in the same manner as those not in receivership. Transfers were given to and received from the other elevated lines.

7. From the fact that receivership is inevitable at the expiration of the franchise, it is not apparent why the

security holders would not be willing to exchange their present holdings for new securities issued under a twenty year grant. While the mayor was elected largely with the understanding that he would make a settlement of the traction question on the basis of *municipal ownership and operation* of the transportation lines, it has not been the expectation or desire that any new franchise grants would be given to the old companies. This declaration of the bankers of their inability to re-finance a twenty year grant appears to be purely a bluff.

8. It is not clear why this ordinance prohibited the use of the traction fund accumulated under the terms of the 1907 ordinance as part payment for the property or for the purchase of securities issued in exchange for the property. This fund was provided and collected expressly for the purpose of purchasing the street railways. If this fund were used in the way originally contemplated, it would cover an equity of about 25 per cent of the purchase price of the surface lines stipulated in the ordinance. Again, the city could have used the depreciation reserve of about \$14,000,000 to purchase and retire certificates. These two items would have amounted to about \$54,000,000 or practically $\frac{1}{3}$ of the entire contemplated purchase price. Now the actual worth of the second hand property is less than \$70,000,000. Instead of getting a dollar's worth of property, the city would get only about 40 cents' worth for every dollar paid. The claim that the city was getting an immensely valuable property without establishing an initial equity was not well founded. A dollar's worth of securities in exchange for 40 cents' worth of property ought to establish an equity of 60 per cent.

9. That the demand of the security holders for a voice in the management is not well founded. The present

bondholders have no other security than the property itself and the earnings from operation. They have no voice in the management. At the termination of the franchise, they can lay hold on the real estate and old second hand track, buildings and equipment, without any legal right to operate and earn revenue.

In 1919 Seattle took over the street railway lines and gave in exchange \$15,000,000 bonds (about \$75,000 per mile of single track) which are a lien only against the property and earnings from operation. The bonds are being paid off at the rate of \$833,000 per year.

In Detroit, the proposition was voted upon in 1919 of paying \$31,000,000 (\$113,000 per mile of single track) for the street railways. The voters turned it down as being an excessive price. In 1922 the property was again offered but for about \$20,000,000 (less than \$73,000 per mile of single track) and was approved by referendum vote. The city paid \$2,770,000 cash and executed a contract to pay the balance in semi annual payments of \$500,000 each until Dec. 31, 1931 when the balance of \$7,580,000 becomes due and payable out of a sinking fund. The security holders' claim against the city is a contract and a lien against the lines covered in the purchase.

In neither Seattle nor Detroit do the security holders have any voice in the management.

Chicago was asked to pay about \$164,000 per mile of single track and then give the security holders equal voice in the management.

It was generally believed that the gentlemen who were to be selected by the bankers to participate in the management would be none other than those who have served the interests exploiting traction in Chicago for several generations.

The term of the certificates could be

for thirty, thirty-five or forty years with sinking fund provisions for each period to pay them off at maturity. The forty year certificates with an annual sinking fund of 0.81 per cent was the one popularly discussed. It is thus seen that with no new issues after the initial purchase of the lines it would be at least 25 to 30 years before 51 per cent of the certificates could be paid off and there could be any modification of the control in the city's interest. With the issuing of new certificates the time might be indefinitely postponed. Is not this a new departure in government where the lender steps in and demands a direct voice in the conduct of the government to which he lends money?

10. The fares were absolutely inflexible outside of an increase or decrease of one cent at any time. Five million dollars was to be provided by the sale of certificates for an emergency fund. If this fund fell below \$3,000,000 at any time, the fares were to be raised automatically one cent. If it increased to \$7,000,000, the fares were automatically reduced one cent.

The fare arrangement precluded tickets sold at less than the cash rate, weekly passes, zone fares, charges for transfers or any other arrangement that experience and public policy might dictate in the interest of the general welfare. An impossible provision to impose on a city that is supposed to own and conduct its transportation service in the public interest.

11. There was nothing connected with the whole ordinance procedure that produced more popular distrust than the intolerant haste in rushing it through committee hearings, through the council and on to a referendum vote. It passed the city council on February 27 with 128 amendments presented by its sponsors. No amendments were given any consideration that were not favorable to the "pro-

gram." No printed copies were available for public distribution until about a week later. That left about thirty days in which to analyze the ordinance and organize opposition before the election. The ordinance comprised 204 pages, while the Detroit purchase ordinance was covered in six pages.

12. The city in conducting its own transportation service through the municipal railway board could only attempt to make the board responsive to public will and policy by conducting a lawsuit against itself. (See paragraph 10, Section 14 of the ordinance.)

13. The ordinance made no specific provision for the construction of subways and possibly elevated and surface line extensions by special assessments. If subway construction is once started without employing special assessments to pay the cost, it will be very difficult to introduce the method on later construction.

THE PRICE ASKED FOR THE OLD PROPERTIES

Values are of such importance as to merit detailed consideration. In some forms of utility service undertakings about 80 per cent of the rates charged go to cover fixed charges on the investment. We are thus reminded that "price" may be of great importance in the success or failure of the undertaking.

The price of \$163,000,000 for the surface lines and \$85,000,000 for the elevated lines is fully twice what the respective properties are worth. No valuation of the elevated lines was made and the price at which they were offered was apparently that fixed by a willing seller. This discussion will be confined to the surface lines.

In a message to the city council, October 22, 1924, the mayor said: "I felt and now feel that the city should not give \$162,702,535.57 in special bonds for the surface line properties."

Later, in campaigning for the ordinance and in other public utterances, statements were made that the property was worth much more than \$163,000,000 and to get it at that price was a bargain.

In 1917 the companies' attorneys swore that there were from \$85,000,000 to \$90,000,000 in the capital account that did not represent the value of anything. About two years later, the state public utilities commission indicated that there was at least \$45,000,000 in the capital account that was not represented by any property. That was without making any deductions for depreciation, which at that time must have amounted to at least 40 per cent, or a further reduction of about \$45,000,000.

After the mayor's message in October, the traction negotiations were handed back to the city council. The council decided to have a valuation made. After conference with the "bankers," a board of appraisal was decided upon. One member was selected by the city, one by the bankers and the third agreed upon by the other two.

The report of the board of appraisal was not made in much detail.

The "*original cost*" figures were given by the low man as \$141,773,000, by the high man as \$167,180,727.

The "*reproduction cost*" figures were: Low man, "... after deducting depreciation . . . \$176,300,000"; high man, "... reproduction cost less depreciation to be \$245,621,621 and \$204,308,669 respectively."

The 1907 ordinance created a board of supervising engineers. This board looks after the charges made to capital account. Under its jurisdiction and supervision the \$163,000,000 capital account has been built up. The board has never been accused by the public of slighting the companies.

The original cost of the property now used and useful for street railway purposes, as shown by the board of supervising engineers, was little if anything over \$93,000,000. Applying *age depreciation* to the depreciable elements leaves a residual value of from \$66,000,000 to \$68,000,000. This is really a liberal estimate.

By using the peak of war prices, injecting imaginary elements of cost and neglecting the true loss suffered through depreciation, the appraisers presented the claim that the old second hand properties are worth more than the capital account of \$163,000,000.

Seattle bought a lot of junk which it had to throw away and replace with new track and equipment at the same time it was paying for the property discarded. Fares had to be raised to 10 cents cash or $8\frac{1}{2}$ cents for tickets. When Toronto took over its street railway lines, it paid about four thousand dollars each for some old cars that had to be scrapped as soon as new ones could be procured to take their place. Later, the city was offered ten dollars each for several hundred of these same cars, providing it would load them for shipment.

With the Chicago situation and the experience of other cities, can we take seriously such appraisals? We may

well recall the bit of economic political philosophy which Tom Johnson early in his career learned from the president of a steel company, that "—Public interests in contest with private rights were rarely successful." Even so, some of us might have stood for the excessive price, if it had not been for the impossible board of control.

The companies have violated their contract to carry passengers for a five cent fare and have made at least \$8,000,000 extra net profit as a result. They have not complied with their contract to build extensions. They have collected \$9,000,000 in returns on the \$10,000,000 franchise value. They have been collecting 5 per cent returns on old cable track, cars and power houses long since abandoned and at the same time the full cost of their replacement is charged up against us and we are paying returns on that also.

We are being starved deliberately. It is the old game for which we usually fall. When we are sufficiently starved, we are offered a wonderful picture (repast) for better service and our birth right goes for a mess of potage. It is conceivable that Esau was quite hungry, otherwise he would not have sold out.

Some of us are quite thankful that the traction question is still in politics.

OUR CITY COUNCILS

IV. NEW YORK—THE ECLIPSE OF THE ALDERMEN

BY JOSEPH McGOLDRICK

Columbia University

Another article in our series on City Councils. It shows how the board of estimate, which strictly speaking was not designed as a legislative body, has become the actual legislature, and why. :: :: ::

UNTIL the advent of home rule, New York city was among the unicameral mayor-and-council governed cities. The Charter of 1901, under which the city is still operating, abolished the old bicameral municipal assembly by doing away with the council and entrusting the city's legislative power solely to the board of aldermen which had existed as a lower house for more than half a century.

A UNICAMERAL COUNCIL

Though the charter provides that all legislative power of the city shall be vested in the board of aldermen, no discussion of New York city's legislative equipment would be complete that did not devote at least half its attention to the board of estimate and apportionment, which is indeed the most important and powerful body connected with the city's government. This board has been called the busiest legislative body in the world, which would perhaps be true, if it were a legislative body. The importance and scope of its powers, the multitude of matters and the sums involved far overshadow the work of the board of aldermen in importance and interest to the taxpayers. Strictly speaking, however the board is not a legislative but an administrative body. In many matters both the board of aldermen and the board of estimate must co-operate,

but even in these cases their action is complementary rather than joint. For example, the board of estimate prepares and presents the budget but it is enacted by the board of aldermen and it must be noted that the latter board may reduce but not increase items, but if within twenty days this board has not taken final action the budget "shall be deemed to be finally adopted as presented by the board of estimate and apportionment." Moreover, the resolutions of the board of estimate are not subject to the veto of the mayor who is himself the chairman of the body.

THE NEW MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY

Out of these two bodies the home rule enabling act passed by the legislature in 1924 created a local bicameral legislative body (under the revived name, municipal assembly) to exercise the city's newly granted power to pass local laws. The two boards are in every legal respect equal and coördinate as branches of the municipal assembly. This new body and its work during New York's first year of home rule will not be treated in this article. The present article deals only with the two bodies in their original and distinct capacities, which they retain unimpaired and unmodified by their newly acquired functions.

I. THE BOARD OF ESTIMATE AND APPORTIONMENT

To repeat then, the board of estimate and apportionment is not, strictly, a legislative body. It has been aptly described as the board of directors of the municipal corporation of New York. With the exception of the management of the city's real and personal property which is intrusted to the commissioners of the sinking fund, all of the *business* of the city is subject to control or supervision by the board of estimate. The history of the board is reflected in its title, which becomes clearer when we consider the way in which the board originated. The present board is a descendant of several pre-existing budgetary bodies which extend back at least to the time of the Civil War when a board existed to estimate the expenses of the metropolitan police district, which included the then independent cities of New York and Brooklyn.

COMPOSITION OF THE BOARD

The board of estimate today is composed of the mayor, comptroller, president of the board of aldermen and the five borough presidents. The terms of all members are four years and the election of all takes place at one time. Membership in the board being *ex officio*, the members receive the salaries attached to their individual offices. The mayor and comptroller receive \$25,000 a year each; the president of the board of aldermen and the borough presidents each receive \$15,000, though their responsibilities are scarcely equal. The members do not, however, have equal voting power. The mayor, comptroller and president of the board of aldermen, the three members elected by the entire city, have three votes each. The borough presidents of Manhattan and Brooklyn have two each and the others one each,

making a total of sixteen. All action of the board is taken by resolution adopted by a majority of the whole number of votes. All the members except the mayor and the president of the board of aldermen may be represented at the meeting by their chief subordinates and they frequently are.

TYPE OF MEN ELECTED

The positions which carry with them membership in the board are held in high esteem by politicians and the public. They are the highest honors within the gift of the New York electorate. All the members but the president of the board of aldermen control extensive patronage. The mayor's power of appointment and removal is far broader and more complete than in most cities, though the merit system has been extended to cover all but about 350 of the 80,000 persons employed in the administrative departments. The comptroller heads the largest of these city departments. The budgets of three of the boroughs each exceed \$5,000,000, while the smallest, Richmond, spends \$1,817,000. Moreover, their work requires large amounts of unskilled labor. On the other hand, all of the eight positions are conspicuous and few machine politicians have aspired to them. Only two of the members of the board since 1901 have been district leaders, though one of the present members is regarded as the unofficial "boss" of his borough. But, while few have stood high in the councils of their party, the great majority have been politically ambitious. And being politically ambitious in New York almost implies being a Democrat. Only three or four of the forty-three members of the board since 1904 have been Republicans. Not that the dominant party has had a free and harmonious reign. Much of the most vigorous and effective opposition

has come from independent Democrats whom the fusion of all anti-tammany elements has from time to time succeeded in electing. Even the present membership, the first that has been solidly Democratic, has become famous for its persistent, bitter, and frequently unseemly conflicts between the mayor and the comptroller, both "organization" men.

THE MEMBERS THEMSELVES

The capacity of the members is a bit difficult to estimate. Their most important work and that for which they are individually elected is, or should be, administrative. Even the work of the board is primarily the determination of administrative policies. Yet few of these who have been in the board have had reputations, either in or out of office, as administrators. All but three or four of the ex-members of the board and all but one of the present membership are lawyers. Even as lawyers, however, few have been distinguished in their profession. One is tempted to conclude that they have come from those briefless ranks of the legal profession whose members sometimes develop into professional office-holders. Most of the members have been in the public employ, elective or appointive, during the larger part of their active life. One former member, still in the city's employ, has been on the city's payroll continuously since 1882. The present mayor has been in the city's service since 1906. The office of borough president seems to have escaped the two term tradition. Two former members held office for sixteen consecutive years and one present incumbent is now in his thirteenth year.

The personnel of the board has had a profound influence upon its importance and development in the city's government. Its small membership and the

nature as well as the importance of its work keeps it in the public eye and the type of men elected has uniformly been superior in almost every respect to the men elected to the board of aldermen. The result has been a steady growth in prestige and power. The present personnel is regarded by many to be, on the whole, inferior to the usual membership. Its general lack of individual distinction and its supine following of Mayor Hyland's leadership have not been calculated to increase the board's prestige. This, however, may be only a temporary phase. Normally the board contains at least one or two vigorous, well-equipped and independent members who constitute a valuable "opposition".

EXPANSION OF BOARD'S POWERS

The original power of the board and the one from which it derives its name is, of course, the preparation of the budget, to which reference has already been made. Its close contact with this work from the receipt of the departmental estimates in August until the submission of the final budget to the aldermen in November would alone give it a prime place in the government of a city which spends \$400,000,000 annually. But in 1901 its powers were further enlarged when the board of public improvements was abolished. This board had consisted of all the officers who were members of the board of estimate and in addition the six commissioners in charge of water supply, highways, street cleaning, sewers, public buildings and bridges. This system had given rise to much suspicion of graft and corruption. It is even said that enterprising politicians took the paving blocks up off the streets and sold them. At any rate, the supervision of highways, sewers and public buildings was decentralized and placed in the hands of the borough presidents

and control over all these matters was transferred to the board of estimate. Three years later, in 1905, the control of franchises was added to the jurisdiction of the board. The shadow of this power still resides in the aldermen, but the board of estimate now has power to amend, revise or repeal any franchise granted by the aldermen and it has sole jurisdiction over franchises for the use of streets for purposes of transit or communication. The franchises are granted in the form of a standard contract for a limited term setting forth maximum rates, penalties and security and providing for subsequent renewals after revaluation and reversion to the city without cost, on the termination of the grant, of all fixed assets in the streets. During the last ten years the board has also had charge of the city's zoning regulations. In 1920 when the city employees' retirement system was created, the board of estimate was made trustee with important discretionary powers.

THE SECRETARIAT

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the board of estimate is the secretarial staff with which it is provided. This organization alone has a budget of \$767,000. Of this \$600,972 goes to pay the salaries of its staff of 172 members. Besides clerks and stenographers these include title examiners and statisticians and an engineering department of 47 persons. The chief engineer's staff not only acts in an advisory capacity but was recently planning to undertake the actual construction of the Staten Island tunnel under New York Bay.

All of the matters which come before the board are referred to a particular division or bureau of the secretariat for report and recommendation. The very divisions of the secretariat indicate the nature and scope of the work of the

board. The most distinctive are the division of franchises, the bureau of contract supervision, the bureau of personnel, the pension division, the bureau of education, and others including, of course, a bureau of records and minutes.

PROCEDURE

The meetings of the board, held every Friday, are well attended, not merely by the curious but by people affected by the proposals under consideration. There are usually several hundred people present and at times five or six hundred crowd into the chamber. When an important matter of interest to some locality or group is up for passage large delegations equipped with badges and banners descend upon City Hall. Those who attend are furnished with copies of the calendar, a document of frequently more than a hundred pages comprising three or four hundred items. Many of these items require public hearings which occasionally lead to heated discussions between members and spokesmen of the public. The taxpayers who want improvements or who object to them because they do not feel they can afford the assessment for them furnish the most numerous group of auditors. Still others come with petitions for transit facilities, or want the zoning regulations changed, or retained, in relation to their neighborhoods. Department heads come with requests for corporate stock for improvements or special revenue bonds for emergencies, or budget transfers, which this board alone is authorized to make. Even the salaries and grades in their offices are established by this board. And the city employee when he reaches the compulsory retirement age of seventy makes application here for permission to remain a while longer.

In some of these matters action by

this body is not enough. They must receive the attention of the board of aldermen, the theoretical repository of the city's legislative power, to which we turn next. But from what has already been said it must be apparent that there really can be only a limited field for the energies of this latter body.

II. THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN

As has been indicated the board of aldermen is not what it used to be. It is a far cry to those bountiful days in the time of Tweed when its membership was known as "The Forty Thieves." Not only has it lost in notoriety, but two generations of charter making have cost it much of its former power and prestige. The board has suffered in almost every respect except, as to the number and salaries of its members.

MEMBERSHIP

The board consists of 65 aldermen, elected for two-year terms, from single-member districts, at salaries of \$5,000 per year. The five borough presidents are also members and rarely appearing themselves, are generally represented by deputies, most frequently their commissioners of public works. The heads of the city departments may also attend the sessions without a vote; indeed they may be required to attend if the board so desires. In practise the heads of the mayor's important departments attend very infrequently. The mayor does, however, still exercise his right to initiate ordinances.

POWERS OF BOARD SLIGHT

The aldermen meet regularly, except during summer months, at one thirty on Tuesday afternoons. The meetings rarely last more than two hours. The members are quite regular and tolerably prompt in their attendance. This, plus perhaps another afternoon de-

voted to committee service and infrequent meetings of local improvement boards, is all that is required of the members. Not all find time even for this.

Most of the powers possessed by the typical city council are not within the province of the aldermen. It will be noted that control over franchises, public improvements and street development are not even shared with this board; while in only a few restricted cases is its approval necessary for the selection of sites for public buildings.

The more important powers of the board of aldermen are financial, and of these the most important ones are shared with the board of estimate. They include approval of the city budget, the authorization of the tax levy, the issuance of *corporate stock* for a few particular purposes and the emergency fund of *special revenue* bonds, and the establishment of grades and compensation of positions. With the unanimous consent of the board of estimate it may release contractors from liquidated damages. Independently, the board has power to authorize purchases without public letting for amounts in excess of \$1,000.

ORDINANCE POWERS

Besides these financial powers, the board has a number of minor powers of considerably less significance, which may be dismissed with the briefest mention. It names and renames streets (Hylan Boulevard, Riegelman Boardwalk and Ruppert Place being recent examples). It establishes street markets; grants permits to societies for small arms practice; authorizes churches to build vaults without fee; authorizes advertising displays and parades; and grants other permits for the use of streets. Many of these matters have been gathered together in the code of ordinance which was revised in

1916. This covers building, the use of streets, sanitation, electrical wiring, public markets, and a host of minor matters. Recent boards have been content to leave the code alone, making upon the average no more than ten changes per year, these being matters of the merest detail. The charter of 1901 also contained a conditional repeal of some forty seven sections, provided the board of aldermen covered the subjects by ordinances, but only three such substitutions have been made.

This description would give one indeed a meager and incorrect idea of the board and its functions. The less important powers have become matters of almost individual prerogative, a sort of aldermanic courtesy having grown up, which permits any alderman to secure these blessings for his district without interference on the part of his colleagues. The more important financial powers have almost atrophied.

BUDGET AND TAX LEVY

The most important subject over which the board has jurisdiction is the budget. It may reduce or strike out items but cannot increase them. By the charter 20 days for the discussion of the budget are allowed, with elaborate provisions for its acceptance without the assent of the board at the expiration of this period, but the board actually passes a \$400,000,000 budget in twenty minutes. This situation is not wholly the fault of the aldermen. The actual preparation of the budget takes place during the summer months when they are not in session. It is true the departmental estimates are submitted to them in August but by the time they resume deliberations in the fall, the budget is in too crystalized a stage for any criticism to be effective.

Its power to fix the tax rate has degenerated into one of uncritical assent.

The comptroller's office not only prepares the information on assessed valuations and the amount required to meet the city budget and the state tax, but it actually prepares the report of the finance committee of the board of aldermen, the members of the committee receiving printed copies less than half an hour before they are expected to sign it.

CONTACT WITH CITY ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS

The nature of its work does, however, throw the board into important relationship with the administrative officers of the city. Each of the mayor's twenty-one departments, every county or borough officer, the officials of the courts, indeed every bureau, board or commission receiving money from the city treasury has more or less frequent contact with the board of aldermen. They must each receive permission from the board to have petty cash funds for contingent expenses. Furthermore the titles and salaries of all positions in their departments must be fixed by this board. Besides this the departments must have a public letting on all expenditures in excess of \$1,000 or secure the board's permission to dispense with this requirement, whether they are the purchasing of a \$1300 Reo speed wagon, or coal or gasoline to the amount of \$20,000 or \$50,000.

In this and other respects the department heads are dependent upon aldermanic favor and this tends to bring them and the aldermen together, with results that must frequently be detrimental to the independence of both. There is at least the temptation to throw their offices open to aldermanic influence. While this situation is far from producing the spoils system, it fits nicely into such a system. The aldermen have much leisure and this system may, from time to time, facil-

itate the endeavors of that well-known provider for idle hands.

THE FUNCTION OF AN ALDERMAN

The board is thus virtually devoid of genuine power and constructive influence in the city government. Few of the matters which come before it are of an important popular character. Few involve policies that are either far-reaching or capable of popular solution. The result is that the work of the board is not interesting even to its members and almost unknown to their constituents. It is doubtful if one ordinary citizen in fifty even knows the name of his alderman, much less what he is engaged in doing at City Hall. If they do have any business with their alderman it is rarely concerning legislative matters, but varies all the way from thoroughly legitimate political guidance to questionable "pull" with other branches of the city government.

THE ALDERMEN, THEMSELVES

The personnel of the board may be imagined from the situation that has been described. In a general sense the membership is representative. The law does not but custom does require each alderman to live in the district which he represents and each alderman is in a measure typical of his district. The social, racial and religious mosaics of cosmopolitan New York are reproduced in the membership. Eight of the members are foreign-born, three coming from Ireland, two from Germany, and one from Roumania, and the other two unrecorded. There is one negro—a lawyer and a Democrat. It is interesting to note further that of the forty-nine native-born, thirty-eight were born in New York city. Twenty-nine members had only grammar school education, while fifteen, including the lawyers, have had something equiva-

lent of college training. A score, or more, are men of no ability or initiative whatsoever—mere proxies of shrewder politicians. But many are men of native quickness, trained largely, in many cases almost solely, in the not-to-be-despised school of experience. Most are in middle life or beyond, the youngest being thirty, and more than a dozen being over fifty-six. It is interesting to note that there has never been a woman elected to the board and few have been candidates except for the minor parties.

A DESIRABLE BIRTH

In experience—or more exactly, length of service—the members present a situation somewhat different from that commonly found in legislative bodies. Thirteen have served for more than five terms, which means ten years of service, and three have been in the board nearly twenty years. The number of new members at the last election was only fourteen in a body of sixty five. It is also interesting to note that nine served in the state legislature before their election to the board of aldermen. Owing to the minority position at Albany of the dominant New York city party, and the smaller salary of only \$1,500, paid for a position that takes one away from the city for a period of three or four months and subjects him to fairly heavy strain and expense, it is scarcely surprising that the state legislature is held in less esteem. To this should be added the local political importance of the position of aldermen, which, of course, no alderman overlooks.

PARTY CONTROL

At the present time the majority of the members, 57 in all, not counting the borough presidents who also vote with them, are Democrats. In only four terms since the establishment of

Greater New York in 1899 have the Republicans been in a majority on the board. Their party, now reduced to eight, is too feeble in numbers to be at all effective, and it is doubtful if they even make the most of their small opportunities. On only three of the twenty-nine split ballots during 1924 did the Republicans vote as a unit. Whenever one of their number raise objections to a Democratic measure at least one or two of this colleague are pretty sure to be with the majority. Not that the dominant party, seeking to overbear the opposition, exercises a harsh discipline over its members,—it appears, on the contrary, that their numbers render discipline unnecessary. Measures of no significance whatever becoming party matters at the least word of discussion.

The number of Republican aldermen is of course, quite below the proportion of the Republican vote in the city. The total vote cast for Republicans in 1923 when the present membership was elected amounted to 332,315 or 33 per cent of the total. The district system has frequently in the last twenty years produced gross misrepresentation. At least four times, the discrepancy between the proportion of the vote cast and the number of seats won has exceeded 20 per cent.

SOCIALISTS ELIMINATED

No Socialists were elected to the present board, though their party polled 74,300 votes or 7.6 per cent of the total. Their party grew in members from 1900 until in 1915 it cast 7 per cent of the total vote of the city, but up to that time it did not succeed in electing an alderman. In 1917, however, the Socialist vote more than doubled and seven Socialists were elected. In 1919 their number was reduced to four, and since 1922 there have been no Socialists on the board.

There was, of course, a redistricting of certain sections of the city in 1921. The Socialists while members of the board, at their own expense maintained a legislative bureau which provided them with information which enabled them to give a full and critical discussion of the work of the board. The Republicans have not followed this practice.

ARE THE ALDERMEN WORTH WHILE?

The procedure of the board is quite free and above criticism. What work is done is done in standing committees of which there are twelve and the reports of these committees are almost invariably accepted.

The majority, if impatient, is generally fair, and the rules permit all the discussion which the members wish to put forth. This is, however, very little. It is probable that more than two-thirds of the members do not, in the course of a year, ever address the body. More than half never even introduce a resolution of ordinance. The greatest deterrent to debate is not the rigor of the rules or the steam-roller methods of the majority, but the general lack of information and the contempt with which a talker is greeted.

Such is the board of aldermen. For this indulgence to Democratic vanity the people are paying \$585,000 a year, two-thirds as much as the cost of the highly trained board of estimate secretariat. From one point of view this sum is more than half a million dollars, greater by far than the entire budget of many small cities. From another point of view, it is *one-tenth of one per cent* of New York city's budget or ten cents per capita.

It is customary in concluding a discussion of any governmental institution, to consider its future prospects, but the future of the board of aldermen is already with us. By the home rule

act passed last year by the New York state legislature, the aldermen, in addition to the functions thus far described, became the lower house of the

New York city municipal assembly. It is in terms of this, therefore, that the future of the board of aldermen must be discussed.

THE BONDED DEBT OF 207 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1925

BY C. E. RIGHTOR

Chief Accountant, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.

The report on bonded debts of cities, prepared by Mr. Rightor and the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, is now an annual affair. Comparison is now possible with the tables published in the Review for May, 1923, and June, 1924. :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE tabulation presents an up-to-date statement of the total amount of bonds outstanding as a liability by each city, classified as to whether they were issued for general public improvements, schools, or utilities; the sinking fund similarly classified; the net bonded debt; and the per capita net bonded debt. In the last column, the cities are ranked, within the five census groups, according to amount of per capita net debt.

As in previous compilations, the figures do not include special assessments except the city's portion, temporary loans and other current debt. The tabulation ignores the fact that state and local laws sometimes exempt certain issues for various reasons, and includes such issues.

In such compilation it is necessary to limit the scope, and for that reason the classification by purposes cannot be shown in detail, and is available only in the annual reports of the cities. The basis for the per capita figures is the 1920 census. This seems unjust to rapidly growing cities as Los Angeles, Norfolk, and Atlantic City, but the

census bureau's estimate for 1925 would not greatly overcome this difficulty, taking no account of recent increases due to annexation, seasonal variation of population, etc. Norfolk added 36,000 population by annexation in 1923, increasing its net debt by \$2,652,000 therefor.

RANGE AND TREND OF DEBT

The per capita debt for the cities of the United States ranges from \$268.85 for Atlantic City to \$8.63 for Quincy, Illinois, omitting Washington which is free from debt. For the Canadian cities, the range is from \$375 per capita for Edmonton to \$138.33 for St. John.

Yearly comparisons are possible when the present figures are set against last year's. A comparison for the two years was made for fifty-eight of the sixty-eight cities over one hundred thousand population. Of this number, forty-six cities had a total increase of \$251,416,648, while twelve cities reported a reduction of \$31,485,405. The net increase, therefore, of the fifty-eight cities was \$220,231,243. Ex-

cluding New York, which reports an increase of \$85,975,722, and Washington, which paid off the balance of its debt amounting to \$165,609, the average increase for the fifty-six cities was \$2,400,000. This would serve to indicate that the policy of the Federal government to reduce its debt and interest charges cannot be so easily applied to growing cities, and it is submitted that the factors entering in the two cases are different. At any event, election returns attest the fact that the people continue to vote bonds for local needs. Some writers urge that the tax exemption feature of municipal issues has encouraged cities to borrow extensively, while others emphasize that the depreciated dollar of to-day as compared with the pre-war dollar exaggerates the debt.

The bald figures do not reveal many interesting facts about the nature of municipal indebtedness, which are disclosed in the questionnaires received. There is a tendency toward the serial bond and the pay-as-you-go principle of financing. Local governments are becoming more and more concerned with the problem of exemptions from taxation, the proportion of real and personal property exempted in all the states constituting, according to one estimate, about one-sixth of the entire tangible wealth of the nation.

SELF-SUPPORTING DEBT

A complete analysis by purposes would indicate the extent indebtedness for self-supporting projects, and a per capita ranking with these deductions would present a different line-up. Utility bonds are largely, though not universally, for self-supporting water and light systems, street railways, docks, etc. This is emphasized with the Canadian cities, which have a relatively high per capita debt. Edmonton has bonds for water, electricity, street railway and telephone; Winnipeg has water, hydro-electric, housing and central heating; and Toronto, in addition to water, hydro-electric and street railway, has debt for hospital and charitable grants and for war purposes.

A statement of the assessed valuation for each city reported in the REVIEW for December, 1924, permits the computation of the ratio of debt to assessed valuation.

This fifth annual compilation includes an increased number of cities reporting. Of two hundred forty-seven cities in the United States, replies were received from one hundred ninety-six, and from thirteen Canadian cities, eleven replies were received. This is gratifying because of the variation in extent of financial control over the data desired, and means added effort by the city officials concerned.

BONDED DEBT OF 207 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1925
 COMPILED BY THE BUREAU OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH, INC.
 From Data Furnished by Members of the Governmental Research Conference, City Officials, and Chambers of Commerce

City	Census 1920	General improvement bonds	Public school bonds	Public utility bonds	Gross total bonded debt	Sinking fund			Net total bonded debt	Per capita net bonded debt	Rank within group
						General improvement	Public school	Public utility			
Group I <i>Population, 500,000 and over</i>											
1. New York, N. Y.	5,620,048	\$670,686,909	\$129,433,024	\$617,162,317	\$1,417,282,250	\$189,992,003	.....	\$54,079,986	\$1,173,210,261	\$208.75	1
2. Chicago, Ill.	2,701,705	128,125,900	50,000	4,615,500	132,791,400	59,906,790	\$9,682,093	.....	132,791,400	49.15	11
3. Philadelphia, Pa.	1,903,779	180,044,423	38,285,000	69,287,777	287,617,200	6,666,417	4,293,801	2,415,140	215,028,377	119.55	7
4. Detroit, Mich.	983,679	70,134,216	41,219,100	45,646,114	156,999,430	15,137,516	10,990,986	3,749,612	143,618,972	144.53	5
5. Cleveland, Ohio	796,841	22,663,000	2,351,000	35,922,181	133,958,345	7,321,839	7,398,783	4,456,907	116,980,231	146.80	4
6. St. Louis, Mo.	772,897	22,663,000	15,160,800	41,816,700	136,049,951	28,382,592	7,398,783	4,456,907	126,352,776	132.85	12
7. Boston, Mass.	69,072,451	15,160,800	.....	8,745,100	130,011,496	31,368,491	1,556,872	421,931	94,186,668	128.35	6
8. Baltimore, Md.	733,826	99,263,396	33,174,800	8,272,100	138,710,100	1,171,020	20,872	8,449,971	138,710,100	91.49	10
9. Pittsburgh, Pa.	588,343	33,264,425	407,150	75,215,450	98,849,025	1,857,508	20,872	8,449,971	88,620,676	153.50	2
10. Los Angeles, Calif.	576,673	23,264,425	17,543,000	15,864,647	56,812,072	3,081,981	.....	2,589,302	\$3,541,074	105.65	9
11. Buffalo, N. Y.	506,775	25,807,710	11,250,000	43,791,000	78,081,000	1,045,600	375,000	1,101,000	75,559,400	149.13	3
12. San Francisco, Calif.	506,676	23,040,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Group II <i>Population, 300,000 to 600,000</i>											
13. Milwaukee, Wis.	457,147	\$26,148,550	\$6,937,750	\$135,000	\$33,221,300	\$1,904,500	\$528,000	\$15,000	\$30,773,800	\$67.32	8
14. Washington, D. C.	437,671	33,611,000	14,743,200	12,632,000	60,986,200	6,551,709	2,502,323	2,045,557	50,083,611	120.82	3
15. Newark, N. J.	414,524	59,220,654	10,100,600	36,795,230	106,120,464	17,146,160	1,727,564	9,019,872	27,885,596	98.59	1
16. Cincinnati, Ohio	401,247	38,176,310	.....	.....	38,176,310	.....	.....	.....	38,176,310	98.59	4
17. Minneapolis, Minn.	387,219	38,176,310	.....	.....	38,176,310	.....	.....	.....	38,176,310	98.59	4
18. Kansas City, Mo.	387,689	21,724,831	18,166,800	1,842,000	41,733,631	2,437,502	4,554,666	.....	4,455,953	97.95	5
19. Kansas City, Mo.	387,689	21,724,831	18,166,800	1,842,000	41,733,631	2,437,502	4,554,666	.....	4,455,953	97.95	5
20. Seattle, Wash.	324,512	10,281,000	15,093,000	7,900,000	32,574,000	884,315	385,650	392,554	24,241,832	74.73	7
21. Indianapolis, Ind.	314,194	12,268,710	8,541,000	39,474,240	60,283,950	689,404	.....	.....	58,491,431	186.87	2
Group III <i>Population, 100,000 to 300,000</i>											
22. Jersey City, N. J.	298,103	\$11,583,864	\$13,473,000	\$19,037,520	\$44,094,384	\$11,046,775	\$1,287,209	\$3,616,569	\$38,174,831	94.51	21
23. Rochester, N. Y.	295,750	12,654,600	9,431,290	11,189,500	33,375,390	1,295,882	820,283	1,783,234	29,475,991	99.67	18
24. Portland, Ore.	256,491	24,338,896	3,735,000	11,189,500	39,273,390	1,295,882	820,283	1,783,234	29,475,991	99.67	18
25. Portland, Ore.	256,491	24,338,896	3,735,000	11,189,500	39,273,390	1,295,882	820,283	1,783,234	29,475,991	99.67	18
26. Toledo, Ohio	237,595	15,133,000	6,750,000	14,723,063	26,584,066	1,600,545	.....	22,232	36,127,748	151.49	4
27. Providence, R. I.	237,031	36,227,416	9,733,250	17,073,000	53,955,666	194,040	.....	.....	216,332	102.80	15
28. Columbus, Ohio	237,031	36,227,416	9,733,250	17,073,000	53,955,666	194,040	.....	.....	216,332	102.80	15
29. Louisville, Ky.	234,891	13,373,500	1,966,400	1,079,000	16,418,000	5,096,403	1,268,107	3,802,869	28,919,490	183.93	13
30. St. Paul, Minn.	224,698	10,726,000	7,401,000	6,799,000	24,926,000	8,881,742	2,193,557	2,193,557	13,160,459	183.24	26
31. Oakland, Calif.	216,261	2,765,668	7,857,298	1,502,839	11,855,795	1,855,223	162,277	1,084,002	21,977,541	183.24	26
32. Akron, Ohio	208,435	12,946,019	3,921,000	10,986,000	30,311,000	254,000	.....	.....	21,977,541	183.24	26
33. Atlanta, Ga.	209,616	4,711,000	3,921,000	10,986,000	30,311,000	254,000	.....	.....	21,977,541	183.24	26
34. Omaha, Neb.	191,601	15,315,088	8,432,000	11,892,000	35,639,088	1,518,984	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
35. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
Group IV <i>Population, 100,000 to 300,000</i>											
36. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
37. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
38. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
39. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
40. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
41. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
42. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
43. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
44. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
45. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
46. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
47. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
48. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
49. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
50. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
51. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
52. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
53. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
54. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
55. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
56. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
57. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
58. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
59. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
60. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
61. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
62. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
63. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
64. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
65. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
66. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
67. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
68. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
69. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
70. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
71. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
72. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
73. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
74. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
75. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
76. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
77. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
78. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
79. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
80. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
81. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
82. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,067,900	2,361,610	.....	.....	11,601,765	53.65	37
83. Worcester, Mass.	179,574	6,104,000	1,464,500	5,499,400	13,0						

36. Birmingham, Ala.	178,806	6,457,500	5,071,000	155,000	11,633,500	127,572	.....	.....	127,572	11,555,928	64	33
37. Syracuse, N. Y. ¹⁴	171,717	7,876,291	6,489,970	4,079,000	30,445,000	4,367,721	789,061	1,570,046	953,332	17,491,929	101	86
38. Richmond, Va. ¹⁴	171,067	20,627,183	3,826,500	6,435,500	11,437,000	.....	.....	.....	6,735,828	23,715,302	138	15
39. New Haven, Conn. ¹⁴	162,577	11,687,700	4,688,000	8,070,000	24,445,700	602,159	371,046	.....	669,861	20,767,139	66	32
40. Memphis, Tenn.	161,379	11,095,500	3,318,750	7,157,000	14,324,250	643,744	270,957	.....	973,205	23,472,495	144	38
41. San Antonio, Tex.	158,976	7,870,500	5,373,250	2,137,000	21,290,750	947,751	270,957	498,926	1,688,385	19,604,355	83	71
42. Dayton, Ohio	152,559	7,574,080	4,720,000	2,157,000	14,678,080	2,132,250	65,000	435,000	2,632,250	12,045,500	78	39
43. Danbury, Conn.	143,555	7,376,000	3,175,000	.....	11,051,000	1,622,345	505,410	399,814	2,597,369	14,956,100	119	14
44. Hartford, Conn.	138,036	5,378,481	7,070,600	4,615,000	17,094,081	1,893,326	.....	399,814	956,439	14,956,100	107	81
45. Grand Rapids, Mich.	137,634	2,448,500	5,016,100	2,793,000	10,257,600	1,589,326	.....	399,814	956,439	14,956,100	107	81
46. Youngstown, Ohio	132,358	8,769,903	4,703,300	1,128,000	14,601,403	1,893,326	677,972	154,170	2,716,480	11,884,923	89	79
47. Springfield, Mass.	129,614	10,373,100	4,443,300	1,825,000	15,639,419	1,893,326	677,972	154,170	2,716,480	11,884,923	89	79
48. Des Moines, Iowa	126,463	8,004,719	2,897,000	1,689,419	15,639,419	280,303	52,200	.....	479,509	16,209,916	120	47
49. New Bedford, Mass.	118,242	8,633,000	1,112,000	3,377,000	14,066,000	944,549	100,000	147,000	2,144,549	11,921,451	98	35
50. Nashville, Tenn.	118,110	3,457,500	3,616,000	2,220,000	11,965,000	.....	.....	.....	449,044	11,515,856	97	31
51. Salt Lake City, Utah ¹⁰	116,309	6,908,405	3,243,500	1,467,675	11,619,220	1,855,430	242,386	705,725	3,938,081	8,693,139	80	64
52. Norfolk, Va. ¹²	115,777	13,713,165	4,673,448	15,002,887	33,389,500	3,066,282	384,928	332,990	1,296,063	29,990,455	97	30
53. Albany, N. Y. ¹²	113,344	10,309,040	2,209,750	2,351,500	12,660,540	978,530	.....	317,533	1,296,063	11,957,440	108	97
54. Lowell, Mass.	112,759	3,618,940	840,000	2,067,750	6,038,440	4,000	.....	.....	315,350	10,138,450	52	38
55. Wilmington, Del.	110,168	8,173,800	1,490,000	1,075,500	10,503,800	315,350	.....	482,669	3,450,024	6,086,976	55	49
56. Cambridge, Mass. ¹²	109,694	8,438,500	1,093,000	1,075,500	9,533,000	2,179,432	309,822	253,386	517,640	6,345,760	58	37
57. Reading, Pa. ¹²	107,784	2,415,500	4,003,000	1,985,000	7,031,000	587,145	.....	569,563	1,028,016	5,422,984	51	83
58. Spokane, Wash.	104,457	3,303,000	1,093,000	1,985,000	7,031,000	479,072	83,191	.....	665,754	12,833,916	127	33
59. Kansas City, Kan.	103,171	7,163,197	5,239,000	2,591,350	14,933,447	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,933,447	149	57
60. Yonkers, N. Y.	100,176	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Geore IV												
Population, 50,000 to 100,000												
69. Lynn, Mass.	98,148	\$2,395,320	\$2,036,500	\$1,559,500	\$5,991,320	\$358,740	.....	\$567,077	\$925,817	\$5,085,503	\$51	00
70. Duluth, Minn.	98,917	3,125,000	2,525,000	3,607,000	9,257,000	160,490	.....	.....	160,490	9,096,510	91	96
71. Tacoma, Wash. ¹⁴	96,985	5,021,000	1,637,000	5,940,495	12,595,495	1,357,577	.....	12,250	1,359,920	11,236,578	115	80
72. Elizabeth, N. J.	95,783	7,88,500	3,196,850	1,47,000	3,045,200	.....	.....	16,825	16,825	3,068,730	37	68
73. Lawrence, Mass.	94,270	3,006,790	3,006,790	147,000	7,211,000	494,570	.....	.....	494,570	6,716,430	53	37
74. Erie, Pa.	93,972	776,000	800,000	.....	1,575,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,575,000	71	83
75. Sonoma, Mass.	91,599	6,014,500	7,300,000	3,316,000	16,631,000	280,287	.....	130,000	130,000	16,501,000	180	14
76. Fair, Mich.	91,558	3,015,500	2,198,000	4,041,500	9,255,000	280,287	.....	.....	.....	8,972,059	96	46
77. St. Joseph, Mo.	91,285	4,653,000	5,364,800	5,715,800	15,732,800	1,449,462	.....	1,087,708	3,509,150	11,230,650	80	11
78. Oklahoma City, Okla.	88,723	4,056,000	3,091,500	5,009,500	7,657,000	70,226	.....	.....	121,658	13,770,158	152	37
79. Schenectady, N. Y.	87,091	5,884,829	7,903,000	1,893,437	15,681,266	1,512,081	206,107	692,920	2,473,568	13,200,700	132	33
80. Canton, Ohio	85,264	1,335,000	1,713,600	804,000	3,852,600	297,359	.....	.....	297,359	3,719,500	44	08
81. Evansville, Ind.	85,264	3,544,000	4,115,000	.....	3,852,600	297,359	.....	.....	297,359	3,719,500	44	08
82. Savannah, Ga.	82,252	2,282,000	1,288,000	1,987,000	11,945,947	162,000	235,000	.....	397,000	11,443,747	147	12
83. St. Joseph, Mo.	77,999	4,447,441	1,987,000	1,987,000	11,945,947	162,000	235,000	.....	397,000	11,443,747	147	12
84. Knoxville, Tenn. ¹⁴	76,518	9,100,993	3,060,500	4,057,658	10,529,149	968,072	910,748	259,797	1,875,820	8,650,359	112	70
85. San Diego, Calif. ¹⁴	74,583	4,385,541	2,878,000	12,123,133	19,386,674	105,707	.....	.....	385,504	19,021,170	254	69
86. Allentown, Pa.	73,833	2,214,900	549,500	110,400	3,869,900	54,429	13,160	.....	.....	2,764,400	37	44
87. Wichita, Kan.	72,502	1,075,000	2,684,500	110,400	3,869,900	54,429	13,160	.....	.....	2,764,400	37	44
88. Sioux City, Iowa	71,227	1,481,000	1,880,000	1,000,000	4,896,520	100,000	124,000	15,847	224,000	4,920,520	45	28
89. South Bend, Ind.	70,983	1,107,500	3,049,000	1,075,000	5,231,500	76,338	81,175	15,847	208,527	5,028,973	70	80
90. Hoboken, N. J.	68,168	5,984,969	3,809,593	2,279,000	10,075,562	87,611	438,532	48,818	1,358,849	8,714,713	127	85
101. Charleston, S. C.	67,957	4,364,000	550,000	3,947,000	8,861,000	38,524	175,939	69,460	234,923	8,676,077	126	20

BONDED DEBT OF 207 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1925—Continued

City	Census 1920	General improvement bonds	Public school bonus	Public utility bonds	Gross total bonded debt	Sinking fund			Total	Net total bonded debt	Per capita net bonded debt	Rank within group
						General improvement	Public school	Public utility				
Group IV—(Continued)												
104. Johnstown, Pa.	67,327	4,297,500	3,045,000	...	7,342,500	191,235	526,160	...	528,160	6,816,340	101.24	19
105. Burlington, N. Y.	66,800	2,830,925	5,322,675	105,000	5,322,600	...	...	...	191,235	5,131,365	76.81	25
106. Brockton, Mass.	66,254	2,034,086	2,826,675	1,579,900	4,592,246	53,800	110,286	572,482	572,482	4,019,764	60.67	31
107. Terre Haute, Ind.	66,063	915,000	860,000	1,775,000	4,592,246	...	...	...	164,086	4,428,160	24.38	55
108. Sacramento, Calif.	65,908	3,072,300	5,288,000	3,497,960	11,858,260	64,500	70,000	50,000	184,500	11,673,760	170.62	6
109. Rockford, Ill.	65,651	438,400	1,010,000	400,000	1,848,400	...	...	...	...	1,689,000	25.34	54
110. Little Rock, Ark. ²⁷	65,142	2,020,722	658,000	...	2,678,722	...	...	...	...	2,678,722	41.12	48
111. Saginaw, Mich. ²⁸	64,847	1,487,700	773,000	773,000	3,371,200	32,700	100,000	88,000	220,700	3,150,500	50.89	39
112. St. Paul, Minn. ²⁹	64,847	1,487,700	773,000	773,000	3,371,200	32,700	100,000	88,000	220,700	3,150,500	50.89	39
113. Mobile, Ala. ³⁰	60,771	2,335,400	1,500,000	1,734,500	5,569,900	285,598	71,181	4,162	357,739	5,212,161	81.50	37
114. Holyoke, Mass. ³¹	60,203	2,247,000	1,685,000	2,022,000	4,437,500	213,542	...	...	157,440	4,280,060	55.80	34
115. New Britain, Conn.	59,316	1,895,000	2,000,000	1,445,000	5,340,000	42,816	100,838	479,895	793,985	3,957,005	65.74	29
116. Springfield, Ill.	59,183	503,100	595,000	730,000	1,828,100	...	...	...	272,837	4,789,063	80.18	24
117. Lansing, Mich.	57,327	2,837,300	...	5,443,100	7,980,400	55,910	...	...	61,345	7,919,055	138.17	10
118. Covington, Ky. ³⁴	57,121	1,775,500	348,500	2,499,900	2,848,400	...	106,674	...	13,085	2,835,315	49.64	40
119. Waverly, W. Va.	56,708	1,750,000	1,312,000	205,000	3,267,000	110,175	...	...	106,674	3,189,826	56.18	32
120. Waco, W. Va.	56,708	1,750,000	1,312,000	205,000	3,267,000	110,175	...	...	177,790	3,852,700	68.54	28
121. Berkeley, Calif. ³⁵	56,036	575,408	437,500	2,000,000	3,012,908	...	...	...	...	2,794,256	17.92	57
122. Long Beach, Calif. ³⁶	55,993	3,112,211	5,769,666	4,300,000	13,381,877	109,077	434,045	44,499	587,621	12,794,256	230.14	3
123. Gary, Ind.	55,378	855,000	1,799,000	12,500	2,666,500	72,836	...	4,492	77,428	2,589,072	46.75	42
124. Lincoln, Neb.	54,948	556,800	1,835,500	242,500	2,634,800	3,978	10,238	64,000	78,216	2,604,584	47.40	41
125. Portsmouth, Va.	54,387	4,583,600	938,400	315,000	8,677,000	201,080	...	537,094	738,174	7,938,826	145.97	9
126. Haverhill, Mass.	54,384	846,000	559,000	1,350,000	1,535,000	...	42,090	258,225	329,410	1,109,356	20.46	56
127. Augusta, Ga.	52,548	4,398,000	...	2,075,000	3,198,000	329,410	...	...	329,410	2,868,590	54.59	35
128. Tampa, Fla.	51,603	4,398,000	1,011,150	...	7,644,650	1,059,794	90,374	22,511	1,082,305	6,682,345	127.16	14
129. Niagara Falls, N. Y.	50,842	4,286,000	1,909,119	1,475,630	9,296,399	377,320	...	...	457,694	8,838,705	183.14	18
130. East Orange, N. J.	50,760	2,007,500	1,929,245	1,562,000	5,498,745	255,146	311,686	669,126	1,235,958	4,262,787	84.06	23
131. Atlantic City, N. J.	50,707	10,822,950	3,907,000	1,780,000	17,890,950	2,251,296	381,635	1,625,347	4,258,278	13,632,672	268.85	1
132. Bethlehem, Pa.	50,358	1,899,000	3,980,000	1,760,000	7,639,000	491,299	632,570	...	1,123,869	6,515,131	129.38	12
133. Huntington, W. Va.	50,177	802,500	1,792,000	...	2,594,500	224,209	122,059	...	346,268	2,248,232	44.81	43
134. Topeka, Kan.	50,022	669,432	89,200	811,000	1,569,632	93,224	22,186	...	115,410	1,454,222	29.07	53
Group V												
Population, 50,000 to 60,000												
145. Malden, Mass.	49,187	\$2,064,000	\$753,800	\$37,000	\$2,854,800	\$429,802	...	\$44,490	\$474,292	\$2,380,508	\$48.40	58
146. Hamtramck, Mich.	48,615	1,482,493	2,749,500	...	4,231,993	154,045	...	...	219,773	4,012,220	82.53	20
147. Kalamazoo, Mich.	48,403	220,075	2,169,000	108,300	2,497,375	20,633	...	...	20,633	2,476,742	51.17	54
148. Winston-Salem, N. C.	48,395	7,101,564	2,641,000	2,273,391	12,015,955	...	135,562	...	135,562	10,880,393	245.69	1
149. Jackson, Mich. ³⁷	48,374	1,850,229	1,924,000	1,012,875	3,787,104	...	...	...	177,915	3,609,189	74.61	32
150. Quincy, Mass.	47,876	1,791,300	3,130,300	...	3,130,300	...	...	...	...	3,130,300	65.38	42
151. Bay City, Mich.	47,554	401,000	2,370,000	2,245,000	5,016,000	300,949	207,284	...	508,213	4,507,787	94.79	17
152. York, Pa.	47,312	1,093,700	272,500	...	1,366,200	361,998	57,272	...	362,210	1,006,990	21.17	72

Group V—(Continued)													
Population, \$0.000 to \$0.000													
153.	McKeesport, Pa.	46,781	965,000	1,119,000	.....	1,354,626	596,334	680,369	527,128	1,803,831	2,080,016	44.46	63
154.	Highland Park, Mich.	46,499	2,236,400	3,477,000	1,354,626	7,065,026	1,018,312	230,906	248,114	1,266,426	5,264,195	113.21	12
155.	Newtown, Mass.	46,054	2,710,500	1,229,000	3,364,000	4,303,500	1,018,312	230,906	248,114	1,266,426	5,264,195	113.21	12
157.	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	45,556	893,100	1,941,000	436,000	3,270,100	.....	.....	.....	3,039,194	66.70	38	
158.	Elmira, N. Y.	45,393	1,659,300	683,000	4,424,300	10,268,150	.....	.....	.....	4,424,300	97.47	16	
159.	Pasadena, Calif. ¹⁴	45,354	1,124,780	2,585,000	2,559,370	10,268,150	.....	.....	.....	9,955,111	219.56	2	
160.	Fresno, Calif.	45,086	788,000	2,500,000	.....	3,285,000	.....	65,482	.....	3,285,000	71.47	37	
162.	New Castle, Pa.	44,938	1,610,000	2,767,000	2,435,000	2,767,000	126,063	.....	.....	129,527	150.01	56	
163.	St. Paul, Minn.	44,818	2,100,000	2,435,000	2,435,000	2,435,000	134,461	.....	.....	2,435,000	181.43	54	
164.	St. Paul, Minn.	44,818	2,100,000	2,435,000	2,435,000	2,435,000	134,461	.....	.....	2,435,000	181.43	54	
165.	Westfield, N. J.	43,996	1,393,350	1,393,350	687,000	1,393,350	177,969	238,190	174,492	408,682	9,272,583	13.44	68
166.	Westfield, N. J.	43,996	1,393,350	1,393,350	687,000	1,393,350	177,969	238,190	174,492	408,682	9,272,583	13.44	68
167.	Chelms, Mass.	43,184	2,270,410	720,500	6,716,000	6,866,000	1,565,847	47,650	.....	1,613,497	5,252,503	120.76	9
168.	Chelms, Mass.	43,184	2,270,410	720,500	6,716,000	6,866,000	1,565,847	47,650	.....	1,613,497	5,252,503	120.76	9
170.	Mount Vernon, N. Y.	42,726	4,705,000	2,345,050	1,718,000	8,769,050	224,495	.....	.....	2,883,162	8,840,888	108.49	3
172.	Pittsfield, Mass.	41,763	1,089,400	546,000	989,000	2,624,400	.....	.....	.....	2,624,400	62.84	45	
173.	Lakewood, Ohio ¹⁵	41,732	3,091,120	1,67,000	1,67,000	3,258,120	823,772	.....	.....	823,772	2,433,348	58.32	51
174.	Perth Amboy, N. J.	41,707	1,233,350	1,261,000	1,261,000	3,715,750	226,767	.....	.....	732,297	2,863,453	71.53	36
176.	Lexington, Ky.	41,534	2,197,570	1,00,000	1,105,800	2,297,570	474,523	.....	.....	440,041	1,857,529	44.72	61
177.	Linna, Ohio	41,326	3,164,100	1,352,402	1,105,800	2,627,302	.....	.....	.....	474,523	5,147,719	124.57	7
178.	Fitchburg, Mass.	41,029	1,475,800	1,475,800	1,475,800	2,400,000	46,890	.....	.....	72,078	2,437,822	59.42	49
180.	Bonanza, Tex. ¹⁶	40,422	1,553,000	1,553,000	1,553,000	4,465,150	374,921	.....	.....	615,191	4,434,959	59.62	48
181.	Stockton, Calif.	40,295	2,434,125	2,434,125	1,826,000	2,434,125	.....	.....	.....	2,434,125	60.41	47	
182.	Everett, Mass.	40,120	1,202,580	926,500	50,000	2,179,000	340,548	.....	.....	340,548	1,835,542	45.83	59
183.	Wichita Falls, Tex.	40,079	1,665,500	1,346,000	999,000	4,011,500	248,434	.....	.....	370,383	3,641,117	90.85	24
185.	Oak Park, Ill.	39,858	378,000	854,000	140,000	1,372,000	.....	.....	.....	1,372,000	34.82	66	
186.	Hamilton, Ohio	39,675	830,639	830,639	1,889,000	4,141,760	.....	.....	.....	202,186	3,939,574	99.30	15
187.	Superior, Wis.	39,671	1,012,675	1,240,000	1,889,000	4,141,760	.....	.....	.....	230,025	2,922,650	50.99	55
189.	Springfield, Mo.	39,631	64,000	750,000	750,000	814,000	10,439	.....	.....	127,919	868,081	17.31	74
190.	Charleston, W. Va.	39,608	1,680,000	2,303,000	375,000	3,958,000	230,792	.....	.....	455,361	3,527,639	89.06	25
191.	Duquesne, Iowa	39,141	1,131,450	1,500,000	64,000	3,006,450	181,000	.....	.....	161,000	2,815,450	71.93	35
192.	Jeramestown, N. Y.	39,038	1,226,300	1,283,750	64,000	2,675,950	159,000	.....	.....	277,000	2,296,950	58.84	50
193.	Jeramestown, N. Y.	39,038	1,226,300	1,283,750	64,000	2,675,950	159,000	.....	.....	277,000	2,296,950	58.84	50
194.	Waco, Tex.	38,542	1,754,500	1,288,900	810,000	3,855,400	241,881	.....	.....	590,858	3,262,542	84.74	27
195.	Joliet, Ill.	38,442	239,000	1,950,000	271,500	2,460,500	.....	.....	.....	473,000	2,460,500	64.01	43
196.	Madison, Wis.	38,378	1,481,100	1,956,688	593,000	4,030,768	473,000	.....	.....	3,557,768	92.70	22	
197.	Brookline, Mass.	37,748	688,080	940,200	187,100	1,855,380	.....	.....	.....	1,685,380	44.65	62	
198.	Columbia, S. C.	37,524	1,334,000	648,000	724,000	2,706,000	.....	.....	.....	2,490,885	66.54	39	
199.	Lorain, Ohio	37,295	2,308,776	1,798,725	826,500	4,425,001	339,445	.....	.....	2,490,885	117.73	11	
200.	Evansville, Ind. ¹⁷	37,234	407,000	468,000	468,000	865,000	.....	.....	.....	2,245,731	22.64	71	
201.	Fauntleroy, Mass.	37,137	1,180,400	830,000	1,530,000	2,823,000	445,368	.....	.....	1,530,000	60.50	46	
202.	Waukegan, Mich.	36,997	1,180,400	820,000	529,000	2,828,000	445,368	.....	.....	60,000	2,718,000	74.32	33
203.	Waukegan, Mich.	36,997	1,180,400	820,000	529,000	2,828,000	445,368	.....	.....	60,000	2,718,000	74.32	33
204.	Waukegan, Mich.	36,997	1,180,400	820,000	529,000	2,828,000	445,368	.....	.....	51,761	1,145,739	31.56	67
205.	Waterloo, Iowa	36,230	948,294	1,525,000	457,000	2,930,294	32,794	.....	.....	50,000	78,600	78.60	31
206.	Chicopee, Mass.	36,214	854,800	528,500	396,500	1,779,800	.....	.....	.....	82,794	78,600	49.15	57
207.	New Rochelle, N. Y.	36,213	1,828,676	1,828,676	396,500	4,641,573	.....	.....	.....	222,641	4,418,932	122.03	8
210.	Battle Creek, Mich.	36,164	566,000	390,000	955,000	2,306,991	.....	.....	.....	14,074	955,000	26.44	70
212.	Hammond, Ind. ¹⁸	36,004	340,451	1,013,540	955,000	2,306,991	.....	.....	.....	14,074	2,294,917	63.74	44
213.	Quincy, Ill.	35,978	210,000	155,000	38,481	385,000	27,500	.....	.....	54,500	310,500	8.63	75
216.	Rock Island, Ill.	35,177	194,219	400,000	968,000	2,345,219	.....	.....	.....	62,853	2,899,560	82.76	28
218.	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	35,000	1,168,000	571,350	305,000	2,044,350	.....	.....	.....	6,840	2,899,560	82.76	28
222.	Amsterdam, N. Y.	33,524	1,871,150	388,000	78,071	2,246,150	.....	.....	.....	122,016	2,224,134	66.34	19
223.	Amsterdam, N. Y.	33,524	1,871,150	388,000	78,071	2,246,150	.....	.....	.....	122,016	2,224,134	66.34	19
224.	Wilmingon, N. C.	33,372	1,802,016	675,000	791,000	3,271,016	28,547	.....	.....	33,831	3,149,582	94.38	13

BONDED DEBT OF 207 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1925—Continued

City	Census 1920	General improvement bonds	Public school bonds	Public utility bonds	Gross total bonded debt	Sinking fund				Net total bonded debt	Per capita net bonded debt	Rank within group	
						General improvement	Public school	Public utility	Total				
Group V—(Continued) Population, 30,000 to 60,000													
225. Orange, N. J.	33,268	\$2,007,500	\$1,920,245	\$1,582,000	\$5,498,745	\$255,146	\$311,686	\$689,126	\$1,235,958	\$4,262,787	\$128.13	5	
226. Ogden, Utah	32,804	1,788,500	985,000	775,000	3,501,000	.....	53,800	.....	53,800	3,447,200	105.08	14
227. Olean, N. J.	32,779	1,687,382	1,446,000	441,000	3,574,382	490,882	30,500	.....	521,382	3,653,000	93.14	21
228. Olean, Pa.	32,277	894,500	.....	.....	894,500	30,112	.....	.....	30,112	948,888	29.30	69
229. Orem, Utah	31,791	894,500	95,000	449,000	1,438,500	.....	.....	.....	225,000	1,213,500	38.17	64
230. Oshkosh, Wis.	31,285	1,627,635	790,500	716,000	3,134,135	45,141	54,082	93,371	192,594	2,941,541	94.02	19	
231. Oshkosh, Wis.	31,125	1,455,500	580,000	300,000	2,335,500	38,000	.....	.....	38,000	2,297,500	73.82	34
232. Oshkosh, Wis.	31,017	859,000	931,000	.....	1,790,000	.....	.....	.....	996,900	1,790,000	57.71	52
233. Oshkosh, Wis.	31,012	2,442,000	500,000	967,000	3,909,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,912,010	83.90	20
234. Oshkosh, Wis.	30,958	295,000	140,000	.....	1,085,000	.....	.....	.....	1,978	1,085,000	35.06	65
235. Oshkosh, Wis.	30,958	295,000	140,000	.....	1,085,000	.....	.....	.....	1,978	1,085,000	35.06	65
236. Oshkosh, Wis.	30,958	295,000	140,000	.....	1,085,000	.....	.....	.....	1,978	1,085,000	35.06	65
237. Oshkosh, Wis.	30,958	295,000	140,000	.....	1,085,000	.....	.....	.....	1,978	1,085,000	35.06	65
238. Oshkosh, Wis.	30,958	295,000	140,000	.....	1,085,000	.....	.....	.....	1,978	1,085,000	35.06	65
239. Oshkosh, Wis.	30,958	295,000	140,000	.....	1,085,000	.....	.....	.....	1,978	1,085,000	35.06	65
240. Oshkosh, Wis.	30,958	295,000	140,000	.....	1,085,000	.....	.....	.....	1,978	1,085,000	35.06	65
241. Muskogee, Okla.	30,277	1,954,154	1,330,000	1,120,000	4,404,154	785,555	530,210	665,800	1,981,565	2,422,589	80.01	30	
242. Muskogee, Okla.	30,105	1,098,000	1,295,000	1,193,000	3,587,000	2,112	.....	314	2,426	3,584,574	119.07	10
243. Colorado Springs, Col.	30,070	1,510,800	889,000	1,603,000	4,012,800	677,328	106,015	449,538	1,231,881	2,780,919	92.48	23	
244. Lynchburg, Va.	30,067	394,500	284,100	.....	658,600	.....	.....	.....	82,726	575,874	19.15	73
247. Kokomo, Ind.
CANADIAN CITIES													
1. Montreal, Que. ⁸	618,506	\$96,178,097	\$28,252,791	\$29,168,458	\$153,599,346	\$9,874,409	\$2,102,845	\$13,369,003	\$11,977,254	\$141,622,092	\$298.97	5	
2. Toronto, Ont.	571,833	46,750,283	23,880,194	23,887,929	173,574,220	13,686,381	3,685,627	.....	30,741,011	142,633,209	273.30	4
3. Vancouver, B. C.	179,087	18,887,804	4,171,900	2,349,351	25,309,055	4,807,721	893,862	1,408,155	9,669,390	32,514,460	181.56	6	
4. Vancouver, B. C.	117,217	18,887,804	4,171,900	2,349,351	25,309,055	4,807,721	893,862	1,408,155	9,669,390	32,514,460	181.56	6	
5. Vancouver, B. C.	107,843	13,385,365	4,093,686	4,883,912	22,342,913	3,730,701	737,661	1,068,240	5,536,602	16,806,311	155.84	9	
6. Ottawa, Ont.	95,193	16,833,178	130,000	113,000	17,076,178	757,921	29,251	.....	787,172	16,289,006	171.13	8
7. Quebec, Que. ⁸	65,305	12,049,390	2,651,350	8,544,346	23,245,086	2,959,701	.....	2,796,404	5,756,105	17,488,961	276.25	3
8. Calgary, Alb.	58,821	13,249,002	3,906,797	11,794,305	28,950,104	2,554,375	.....	4,999,534	6,892,442	22,057,982	376.00	1
9. Edmonton, Alb.	55,372	6,227,801	2,241,233	2,197,200	10,628,294	1,116,272	489,728	.....	1,606,000	9,020,294	154.53	10
10. St. John, N. B.	35,727	11,190,650	1,354,949	4,130,125	16,675,724	1,425,835	320,468	340,277	2,286,520	14,389,204	371.55	2	
11. St. John, N. B.	35,727	11,190,650	1,354,949	4,130,125	16,675,724	1,425,835	320,468	340,277	2,286,520	14,389,204	371.55	2	
12. Victoria, B. C.	38,727	11,190,650	1,354,949	4,130,125	16,675,724	1,425,835	320,468	340,277	2,286,520	14,389,204	371.55	2	

NOTES. The cities are arranged in order of population according to 1920 Federal census (Canadian census, 1921).

- 1 *New York City*. Public utility bonds include \$279,889,989 rapid transit and \$68,236,500 docks and ferries; general sinking fund includes school.
- 2 *Chicago*. Does not include county or forest preserve district (county) bonds, \$24,335,000.
- 3 *Philadelphia*. Includes city and county of Philadelphia; general bonds include all bonds issued for work for which special assessments are levied; general and utility sinking funds not separated.
- 4 *Detroit*. Public utility bonds include \$20,234,000 street railway and \$5,411,000 lighting; in addition to the bonded debt there is a street railway purchase contract for \$14,580,000, \$7,080,000 to be amortized at the rate of \$1,000,000 annually and the balance due December 31, 1931.
- 5 *Cleveland*. Public utility bonds include \$68,700 light and power; school sinking fund as at September 1, 1924.
- 6 *Baltimore*. Public utility bonds include \$1,668,700 light and power; school sinking fund as at September 1, 1924.
- 7 *Baltimore*. Public utility bonds include \$1,668,700 light and power; school sinking fund as at September 1, 1924.
- 8 *Los Angeles*. Utility bonds include light and harbor; utility bonds include \$3,914,500 conduits.
- 9 *San Francisco*. General bonds include \$3,000,000 for 1915 Exposition; utility bonds include \$3,791,000 street railway.
- 10 *Milwaukee*. All bonds are 20-year serials; sinking fund reported is amount to be paid off during the ensuing year.
- 11 *Washington*. Has no debt.
- 12 *Cincinnati*. Utility bonds include Cincinnati Southern Railway, \$21,832,000.
- 13 *New Orleans*. Bonds not separated by purposes; the city has no sinking fund, different issues of bonds being retired one after another, out of a tax levy.
- 14 *Minneapolis*. Utility bonds include \$2,302,790 light and \$2,844,000 water bonds not obligations of the city, with principal and interest being paid from revenues of the utilities; also include \$16,743,000 additional light and \$14,191,450 additional water bonds; sinking fund as at March 1, 1925, \$1,000,000; general sinking fund includes school.
- 15 *Portland*. General bonds include docks; school bonds and sinking fund are 93½ per cent of total, based upon city's portion of school district valuation; utility bonds include \$2,729,063 Port of Portland river improvement.
- 16 *St. Paul*. General sinking fund includes school.
- 17 *Oakland*. General and school bonds issued by city are serial; sinking fund reported is redemption fund on hand; utility bonds are harbor.
- 18 *Richmond*. Utility bonds include electric, \$300,000, and gas, \$3,332,550.
- 19 *Salt Lake City*. School debt as at June 30, 1924.
- 20 *Norfolk*. Utility bonds include municipal dock and terminal, \$6,025,948.
- 21 *Albany, Connecticut*. General bonds include school.
- 22 *Reading*. Utility bonds include light, \$1,052,500, and docks and terminals, \$2,339,000; general sinking fund includes utilities.
- 23 *Trinidad*. Utility bonds include light, \$1,288,000, and street railway, \$248,000.
- 24 *San Diego*. School debt as at July 1.
- 25 *Little Rock*. City debt represented by one-year warrants.
- 26 *Saginaw*. School debt does not include west side district, which was not reported.
- 27 *Mobile*. Utility bonds include docks, \$600,000.
- 28 *Altoona*. City debt as at January 6, 1925; school debt as at July 7, 1924.
- 29 *Holyoke*. Utility bonds include gas and light, \$1,370,000, and Holyoke and Westfield Railroad, \$191,000; utility sinking fund includes \$226,500 stock of that railroad.
- 30 *Long Beach*. Utility bonds include gas, \$3,000,000.
- 31 *Rockwood, British Columbia*. School debt not included.
- 32 *Quebec*. School debt as at June 30; debt is not included; water debt reported is capital expenditure to date, \$27,838,458; balance of utility debt is revenue-producing conduits.
- 33 *Montreal*. School debt as at June 30; debt is not included; water debt reported is capital expenditure to date, \$27,838,458; balance of utility debt is revenue-producing conduits.
- 34 *Quebec*. School debt does not include Catholic School.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

THE "MACHINE" ABOLISHED AND THE PEOPLE RESTORED TO POWER BY THE ORGANIZATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE ON THE LINES OF PARTY ORGANIZATION. By Charles C. P. Clark. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925. Pp. xxvi, 196.

The aims of this book were defeated in the New York legislature, 1893-94, by Lieutenant Governor William H. Sheehan ("Blue-eyed Billy Sheehan"), then Democratic boss of Buffalo. Sheehan's slogan was, "What will become of us fellows?"

Dr. Clark, a public-spirited citizen of Oswego, New York, devised this plan to improve municipal affairs there.

The scheme was to have all voters drawn by lot (under supervision of the city clerk) into panels of seventy or so. These "primary constituencies" meet separately, discuss their local government matters,—and each chooses an "electoral delegate." The body of delegates then chooses ward officials, within each ward, and, meeting as a whole, chooses all the elective municipal officials. Obvious adjustments can be made to meet varying local facts.

The doctor's son, James T. Clark of the federal trade commission's legal staff, has kept interest alive in the plan. *Collier's* weekly took it up last year as a journalistic stunt and interested several towns. Mr. Clark and the reviewer spent some time in Racine, Wisconsin, last May, and the Association of Commerce there is committed to the adoption of the Clark scheme as soon as authorization can be wormed out of the constitutional technicalities under which LaFollette is governed. An advisory committee is working on that problem.

The aim is to break down the complexities of machine rule, restore representative government, and give the voters decisive voice in politics. If successful locally, the scheme can then be applied in state and nation.

W. L. WHITTLESEY.

Princeton University.

✱

PARTIES AND PARTY LEADERS. By Anson Daniel Morse. With an Introduction by Dwight Whitney Morrow. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1923. Pp. xlii+268.

The collection of these articles in a single volume is a distinct service. They appeared at different times from 1886 to 1910 and constitute a valuable commentary upon many important

aspects of party government. A discussion or criticism of the individual articles, so widely known as they are, would be gratuitous. The volume as a whole, however, calls for some comment and observation. There is running through the articles, the publication dates of which cover a period of twenty-four years, a unity of thought and method that is quite striking. This unity adds great value to the volume and is convincing evidence of the author's philosophical insight into the nature of party government as an essential part of the larger problem of democracy.

The history of party activities in America has been subjected to a searching and keen analysis, and every theory presented is supported by evidence that merits respectful consideration. One may feel occasionally that the evidence is insufficient or capable of some different interpretation, but the conclusions are always suggestive and stimulating. Professor Morse was clearly of the opinion that party development is the product of certain more or less constant traits of human nature in conflict with the inherent problems of democratic government. It follows, therefore, that party activities tend to follow certain fixed principles of human conduct. This is discussed most effectively in his article on "The Natural History of Party," which is essentially a study in political psychology from an historian's point of view. The author has raised some interesting questions which deserve the study of the psychologist and the political statistician. Professor Holcombe's recent book on Political Parties has applied the objective statistical method to some of these problems in an admirable manner.

On the whole the volume is a delightful contrast to so much of the political writing of the last decade, which is neither philosophical, analytical or objective, but purely descriptive in method and speculative in theory. The volume is an admirable approach to the subject of party government for the group of political scientists who are trying to place their discipline upon an objective, scientific basis. For here they will find suggested many fundamental problems the final solution of which calls for the invention and application of a scientific technique. The Introduction by Mr. Morrow is well done and is an illuminating approach to the articles that follow.

ARNOLD BENNETT HALL.

University of Wisconsin.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. By Carl D. Thompson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1925. Pp. 445.

This is a survey of public enterprises, municipal, state and federal in the United States and elsewhere written by the secretary of the Public Ownership League of America.

It advocates the public ownership of public utilities and seeks to prove the point by accounts of the operation of various public utilities in many cities and states in this country and abroad. The activities of governments in reforestation, irrigation and in other lines are also discussed.

One aim of the book is to dispel the general belief that adherence to a "safe and sane" political philosophy in this country has effectively prevented government ownership of public utilities. The author cites numerous examples of success in the field of public ownership and tells in glowing terms of the many public utility ventures upon which our cities have embarked. We learn of the huge water supply system of New York city, the street railway systems of Detroit, San Francisco and Seattle, and the municipally-owned electric plant of Cleveland. It borders on amazement to realize that there are so many electric light, water supply and gas systems owned and operated by municipalities in this country. The ownership of a 336-mile railroad by the city of Cincinnati is not the least of our surprises.

The need for determining ownership policy on the merits of each individual case is pointed out, and the dogma that a public ownership policy towards one industry presumes a similar policy towards another is ridiculed.

In sketching the operation of numerous publicly-owned utilities, a few figures and facts about each are cited to justify the public ownership of them. The impression is gained that the writer is more concerned with proving his point than he is with presenting complete and reliable data from which the reader may draw his own conclusions. In most instances sufficient detail about the operation is not given. It is obviously impossible adequately to present the case of a great many publicly-owned utilities of various kinds within the limits of a single volume. An attempt to do so results in an unconvincing array of material.

The text is replete with such uncorrelated statements as "Even in Italy where the situation was most difficult for public ownership to meet,

the net earnings of the government roads in 1906-07 were over \$9,000,000." One is left to wonder how the net earnings were determined, what the investment was, and why the period 1906-07 is chosen to show the condition of the government-owned roads of Italy.

A notable instance of care and thoroughness is the discussion concerning the publicly-owned Ontario Hydro-Electric system. The operation of this project is quite clearly explained and the facts about it are so well marshalled that a strong case for public ownership is made.

The book should have a popular appeal and may help destroy some false notions concerning public ownership, prevalent in America. It does not profess to give a thorough exposition of the principles underlying the public ownership movement. One regrets that the book does not bring about a closer and more detailed knowledge of its results where tried.

VICTOR G. GOUGH.

New York City.



THE ECONOMICS OF TAXATION. By Harry Gunnison Brown. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924. Pp. xxii, 344.

By the economics of taxation, Professor Brown means the problem of shifting and incidence. The ten chapters, which, in addition to a brief introduction and conclusion, make up his book, discuss the incidence of ten specific kinds of tax. The term "tax," however, is taken broadly enough to include currency inflation and government borrowing, also compulsory insurance of workmen, as well as imposts on the various forms of wealth and income and on transactions, and the "tariff" on exports and imports. Aside from brief allusions in the introduction and conclusion, there is no treatment of the objectives of taxation, canons of justice or administrative problems.

In point of view the treatment is objective and frankly theoretical; it traces cause-and-effect relations, with practically no statistical or factual material. The economic analysis is at all points careful, thorough and competent, and is stated with admirable lucidity. Only one real error in reasoning strikes the attention of the reviewer, namely, the familiar single-tax heresy that taxes on land value would have any appreciable effect in the way of bringing additional land into use (pp. 217, 232n, 239, 266). Perhaps it is not strictly accurate to say, as the author

does, that any duty on imports can be entirely free from protective effect on some home industry (p. 290). The argument of Chapter III, Section 10, that the case of goods competitively produced under conditions of decreasing cost is of doubtful occurrence, is unorthodox, but in the reviewer's opinion strictly sound.

The contents of the volume as a whole is matter which publicists and the electorate need to understand and act upon, and generally do not. Yet the book leaves on the reader a feeling of doubt, as if it might have to be classed with a rather large group of works which are not needed by those who can and will read them intelligently, and will not be read or understood by those who need to do so. We question whether the method of problems and discussion is not more effective than systematic exposition, however good, for presenting close and sustained argument to classes. However, this is a splendid book for the special student of taxation, supplementing study of conditions and administrative problems. It deserves more attention and study than it can expect to receive.

FRANK H. KNIGHT.

The University of Iowa.

THREE ESSAYS ON THE TAXATION OF UNEARNED INCOME. By Harry Gunnison Brown. Columbia, Missouri: Lucas Brothers, 1925. Pp. x, 173.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's "Two Essays on the Taxation of Unearned Incomes," published in 1921, an argument, fairly describable as "propaganda" for the "single tax." The enlargement is chiefly the addition in expanded form of the author's article on "The Single Tax Complex," published in the *Journal of Political Economy* last year. This essay subjects to critical analysis the arguments against the confiscation of economic rent by taxation as given in a number of text-books on economics. Although—or perhaps because—the reviewer's views on the single tax are altogether negative, he agrees that Professor Brown has "on the hip" those economists who have unwarily accepted the policy of confiscating the future increase in land value without perceiving that it is open to every objection made against the general theory, and that of arbitrary inconsistency in addition.

FRANK H. KNIGHT.

The University of Iowa.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, ETC., OF NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal League.

H. W. DODDS, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th day of May, 1925.

F. GEORGE BARRY,

Term expires March 30, 1927.

Notary Public, Westchester County, Certificate Filed in New York County.

ITEMS ON MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING

EDITED BY WILLIAM A. BASSETT.

Wisconsin Cities Now Share in State Auto Fees.—The participation of cities in the apportionment of state revenues for highway purposes obtained from motor vehicle fees and a tax on gasoline, and the elimination of a direct state tax for highways are features of the recently enacted state highway law of Wisconsin. The apportionment of maintenance funds under this statute covers highways under the jurisdiction of every unit of government in the state.

On the state system this allotment is based on road classification and traffic. Thus primary federal aid highways receive \$500 per mile, secondary federal aid highways \$400 per mile, and the remainder of the state system receives \$300 per mile. An allotment of \$25 per mile is made for the care of town roads and village streets not included in the state system, and for city streets similarly classified the apportionment is on the following basis: \$50 per mile to cities not over 10,000 in population; to cities with a population over 10,000 up to and including 39,000, \$100 per mile; to cities with population from 39,000 to 150,000, \$150 per mile, and above 150,000 in population the allotment is \$200 per mile. In addition those cities which include within their limits sections of state highways receive the same allotment as that provided for the state highways outside of the city limits. A further allotment of \$200 per mile is made to counties having county truck highway systems. The balance remaining in the state highway fund is used for administration and construction purposes.

Wisconsin apparently is the first state to recognize, in the provisions of its state highway law, the equity of the cities' claim of the right to participate in the apportionment of state revenues raised for highway purposes. There are many cities in the various states that can with justice demand some sort of financial aid from the state in the maintenance of city streets which constitute links in important state highways. There is need for more legislation along the lines of the Wisconsin statute.

✱

Water Pollution by Coal Mine Drainage Stopped by Court.—The pollution of municipal water supply sources by coal mine drainage has

long been a source of trouble to water supply and other city officials. This pollution, on account of its acid character, increases materially the cost of providing water suitable for domestic and industrial purposes, and frequently complicates the problem of sewage treatment. Moreover, the difficulty of regulating pollution from these sources has been enhanced materially both by the attitude of certain coal companies and by adverse decisions of the courts in some cases. For that reason a recent decision of the supreme court of Pennsylvania is of particular interest to water supply men.

According to the Committee on Water Supply and Purification of the American Public Health Association, the essential features of this particular case are as follows: The Mountain Water Supply Company, which supplies the Pennsylvania Railroad system in southwestern Pennsylvania, owns a large impounder reservoir on Indian Creek above which are numerous coal mines owned by the Melcroft Coal Company and other companies. These coal mines discharge acid water into Indian Creek above the reservoir.

A request by the local government to the county court for an injunction against this pollution was denied by that court on appeal, but the supreme court granted the injunction. The decision of the latter court reviews in an interesting way various other precedents and also deals with the rights of riparian owners. It states that "it has always been under our (Pennsylvania) law a nuisance to pollute a stream from which the public gets its water supply." These proceedings deal with the application of the common law and not the violation of any statutes. Whether or not the suit is appealed to the federal courts it is bound to make important history in the matter of control of pollution as relates to protection of public water supplies.

✱

Design and Operation of Imhoff Tanks.—Timely suggestions on the requirements of design and operation of Imhoff tanks were made by Harrison P. Eddy, consulting engineer, in a paper recently presented before the sanitary engineering division of the American Society of Civil Engineers. Mr. Eddy points out that the conditions favorable to the formation of scum

and foaming in the sewage accumulated in these tanks are a considerable volume of coarse solids and also a hard water supply with large amounts of insoluble soaps. Conditions unfavorable to producing these phenomena are: the presence of a considerable amount of mineral matter in the sewage such as occurs when the sewage system is of the combined type, passing sewage through fine screens before discharging into the Imhoff tanks, and great depth of tanks. When it is considered that the satisfactory operation of the Imhoff tank process is dependent in large measure on controlling the formation of scum and foaming, the importance of these requirements is manifest.

Mr. Eddy also states that the size of the digestion chambers in the tanks should be determined on the basis of the volume of the solids deposited from the sewage rather than by the method frequently employed, that of assuming an arbitrary volume per capita. The volume of solids deposited is governed to a considerable extent by the prevailing temperatures and particularly the duration of periods of low temperature. Naturally, this demands a considerable amount of research and observation of the character and behavior of the sewage to be treated in advance of the design of the treatment plant. In proceeding with the latter the designer can minimize difficulties of operation by providing for uniform distribution of sludge within the tank or among various tanks. This can be accomplished by designing a relatively short tank, providing for reversal of flow and subdividing the digestion chamber as little as possible. The plant operator can also avoid many of the difficulties of operation by frequent reversal of the flow of sewage through the tanks, drawing the sludge early in the spring and by leaving only the seed sludge in the tank at the advent of cold weather. Sewage treatment is to-day recognized as an important function of local governments in the interest of protecting the public health. Competent design and skillful operation of sewage treatment works are essential if the public is to be efficiently served in this matter. Mr. Eddy's counsel is an aid to the accomplishment of this result.

Public and Private Credit Combined to Build Bridges.—The joint use of public funds and private capital to meet the cost of constructing highway bridges across Arthur Kill, between the

states of New York and New Jersey, is the outstanding feature of a plan for financing these enterprises proposed by the Port of New York Authority. That public agency has in contemplation the construction of two bridges between Perth Amboy and Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Staten Island, New York.

The estimated cost of these bridges is \$17,000,000 of which, under the arrangement contemplated, the states of New York and New Jersey are to furnish a total fund of \$4,000,000. New Jersey's appropriation of \$2,000,000 is to be paid in five annual installments of \$400,000 each, the first installment to be available during the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1925. New York state has already appropriated \$800,000 for the above purpose, \$400,000 of which is to be available during 1925 and \$400,000 during 1926.

For each of the next three succeeding fiscal years, the plan is for the commissioners of the New York State Bridge and Tunnel Commission to pay to the Port of New York Authority \$400,000 from tolls and charges collected from the vehicular tunnel now being constructed under the Hudson River, which it is anticipated will then be in operation.

Funds furnished for these enterprises by the two states are to be repaid by the Port of New York Authority at the rate of 2 per cent per annum and interest charged at 4 per cent being paid on unpaid balances. The remainder of the money required is to be raised by the Port of New York Authority from private capital, not on the security of public credit, but on the security of income earned or earning capacity of these public facilities operated as toll bridges.

This new financial policy is in curious contrast to that in force on two other interstate construction projects, namely the Delaware River Bridge between Philadelphia and Camden, New Jersey, and the above-mentioned Holland Vehicular Tunnel. Funds for the construction of these public works are provided in part out of state appropriations and in part from the sale of bonds. These two projects are likewise to be operated on a toll basis, the income from toll charges to be used to meet cost of their construction and operating expense when completed. There is nothing particularly novel in the use of private capital to finance the construction of public works which are ultimately to be taken over by the state. The recently constructed Bear Mountain Bridge across the Hudson River is an example of this. The unusual feature of the plan of the Port of

New York Authority is its proposal to combine public and private financing methods.

Any particular advantages in the proposed plan of financing over that employed in connection with the Holland Tunnel and Delaware River Bridge, other than that of conserving the public credit, are not apparent. The plan, however, merits careful consideration on account of its possible bearing on future development of policy in the financing of important highway development projects.

✱

Control of Automobile Parking on Rural Highways.—The regulation of indiscriminate motor vehicle parking on city streets has constituted for a considerable time what is perhaps the most vexatious element in effecting adequate control over traffic. Only recently, however, has there been any definite movement towards the enforcement of similar regulation over the use of rural highways. That the need for such regulation is imperative is emphasized in the report of the Committee on Traffic Control of the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety. The committee states that "studies made by the Maryland Department of Public Works of the records of accidents covering several years show that one of the most fruitful sources of accidents on rural highways is the car standing partly on the traveled portion of the highway. This applies even more to cars stopping a few minutes for changing tires or other small repairs, or for conversation with persons alongside, than to cars parked for considerable periods, inasmuch as the operators of the latter usually seek a place well off the roadway. On improved highways there is practically always an opportunity every few hundred feet to get entirely off the traveled portion of the highway, and your committee understands that the Committee on Construction and Engineering will recommend that these places be provided where needed. Your com-

mittee believes, therefore, that there should be enacted legislation prohibiting parking or stopping for any period of time on any part of the traveled portion of the highway.

"Roadside garages, gasoline stations, milk stations, refreshment booths and the improvised vending stands of roadside farmers as frequently located are inducements to motorists to stop on or partly on the traveled roadway. If the law is made to prohibit stopping of vehicles on any part of the traveled way at these points the owner of the establishment will automatically be forced to move them back where they will not endanger traffic."

One of the first state highway departments to take appropriate action in respect to controlling motor vehicle parking on rural highways is that of Pennsylvania, which has issued a rule forbidding the parking of motor vehicles in any section of state highway which contains a white traffic dividing line. The phrasing of this regulation is as follows:

The Pennsylvania Department of Highways has placed white traffic-dividing lines on numerous sections of highways where it is necessary that traffic remain to the right of this line. Presence of the white line is evidence of the existence of unseen danger.

The parking of motor vehicles on those road sections on which traffic-dividing lines are found is a dangerous practice and has resulted in numerous accidents.

From this date, the parking of motor vehicles for any cause whatever is absolutely prohibited within the legal limits of the section of the highway in which a traffic line is found. There are no exceptions to this rule. No car may stop for any purpose opposite the white line.

All persons are warned not to violate the above rule under penalty prescribed in said act, viz: a fine of not less than \$10, nor more than \$25 for each and every offense.

Other state highway departments could well follow the example of Pennsylvania in this matter.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE NOTES

EDITED BY ARCH MANDEL

Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.—The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, which recently prepared an exhibit of its own work and of the welfare work of the city, also recently prepared an exhibit on child welfare for the Third All-Philadelphia Conference on Social Work. The exhibit portrayed the main points in an outline of the factors affecting child welfare. This outline was prepared for the same conference by a committee of Philadelphia social workers, of which Edward T. Paxton, of the Philadelphia Bureau, was chairman. Copies of the outline may be obtained from the Philadelphia Bureau.

A bill for permanent registration of voters in Philadelphia was drafted by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research. Many features of the Boston and Minneapolis systems were followed. The bill received considerable favorable comment and has the backing of the Committee of Seventy, Philadelphia's principal election-reform organization. But it was expected to serve simply as an educational measure, and did not become law at the recent session.

What is planned as a comprehensive survey of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia was begun by the Philadelphia Bureau on March 30, 1925.

The invitation to make the survey originally came from the court to the Bureau. In order to find a way to finance the study, the Bureau turned to the Thomas Skelton Harrison Municipal Trust of Philadelphia. The Harrison Trustees agreed to finance the study, but the terms of their trust require that they supervise inquiries financed by them. As the situation has worked out, therefore, the Harrison Trust is in responsible control of the survey, but the Philadelphia Bureau is to do the work as the agent of the trust.

A large part of the work will be done by special staff. This is especially true of those parts which include appraisal of the social work of the court. The Bureau is now combing the country for capable persons to head up the various social-work studies. It is expected that

the administrative and financial parts of the work will be done in the main, though not entirely, by the regular Bureau staff.

According to the present plans agreed upon by the court, the Bureau, and the Harrison Trust, the survey is to include a study of the following:

1. History, function, and jurisdiction of the court.
2. Organization.
3. Financial control.
4. Purchasing procedure.
5. Department of accounts.
6. Bureau of delinquent accounts.
7. Personnel practice and problems.
8. Domestic relations division.
9. Juvenile division.
10. Misdemeanant's division (male and female).
11. Criminal division (including only the probation work, and work with unmarried mothers).
12. Medical department.
13. Central registration bureau.
14. Statistical department.

The criminal division of the court, except for the work noted in item eleven above, and the civil division, have been eliminated from the survey as involving no problems essentially different from those of the criminal and civil courts of the rest of the state.

More than 575 employees are included in the Municipal Court organization. Its appropriation for personal services for 1925, not including salaries of the ten judges and of numerous employes of the prothonotary, clerk of quarter sessions, and sheriff of Philadelphia county, who are ex-officio officers of the Municipal Court, is \$870,000.

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.—H. D. Smith has resigned from the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research to join the staff of the City Managers' Association and the Kansas League of Municipalities, at Lawrence, Kansas.

W. D. S. Negovetich, who has been on leave of absence from the Bureau for eight months, has returned to the staff.

The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research is undertaking a detailed study of the benefits and losses arising to Detroit because of the annexation of unsettled territory. Up to this time, frequent annexations have been always approved by Detroit voters. Recently, however, there have been some objections to annexations on the ground that they involve large expenditures, from which no adequate return is received. It is hoped that this study will settle the issues involved for the city of Detroit, and perhaps be of assistance to other growing communities. The report is being prepared at the request of the Detroit Real Estate Board.

✦

The Tax and Economy Committee of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce.—Hart Cummin, secretary of the Tax and Economy Committee of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, reports a study on types of roads and pavements, which resulted in an increase in the number of types of pavements allowed in the county of El Paso. This study was made at the request of the county commissioners.

In the city government, Mr. Cummin has followed the operations of the government generally, with particular reference to the operation of the budget system which was installed three years ago under the supervision of the Tax and Economy Committee.

✦

Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.—T. Howard Goodwin, a newly appointed executive of the newly founded Bureau of Civic Research of Vancouver, is spending three months

with the Toronto Bureau to get in touch with practical bureau work. Mr. Goodwin is a graduate of the University of British Columbia and is a native of the Province of British Columbia.

The work of the Toronto Bureau during the last month has been largely confined to examination of questions which have come before the city council and publicity based thereon. Two open letters were issued, one dealing with Hydro Electric financing, and the other with regard to legislation of the Dominion Parliament which was to confer additional powers on the Harbour Board.

The Institute has been engaged mainly in the compiling of the series on "The Cost of Government in Canada," the first number of which has been issued and the second of which is ready for the press.

✦

Dayton Research Association.—In co-operation with the City Plan Board, the Dayton Research Association is making a study of proposed annexations of territory to determine on an economic basis how much territory should be annexed.

A salary standardization study has also been started.

✦

Cleveland Municipal Research Bureau.—The Municipal Research Bureau of Cleveland issued a report upon the "Laws Governing County Finances and Their Administration," with particular reference to Cuyahoga county. Those familiar with the Ohio tax legislation will appreciate the skill with which a most complicated subject has been handled in this study.

NOTES AND EVENTS

Proportional Representation in Danger in Cleveland.—The Cuyahoga Democratic Club of Cleveland has begun the circulation of petitions for the repeal of the proportional representation provisions of Cleveland's new city manager charter. The movement was started by a speech of Newton D. Baker at a recent dinner in honor of Josephus Daniels, ex-secretary of the Navy, in which Mr. Baker attacked the election provisions of the charter.

The Citizens' League in a communication to the Club urged that the amendment be not submitted this year, but that a fair trial should be given to the new method of election. The League pointed out that P. R. had been used but once, and that the council then elected was admittedly the best council chosen in recent years. The Club replied that P. R. is complicated and mystifying; that it results in a growing lack of interest on the part of the voters; that it is an unnecessarily expensive method of choosing a council; and that it has resulted in large areas in Cleveland being unrepresented in the legislative body.

The amendments proposed would divide the council into thirty-three wards, with one councilman elected from each ward on a non-partisan ticket. The council is now composed of twenty-five members elected from four large districts by P. R.

The petitions were put into circulation the last of April and, if the 19,000 signatures are obtained, the special election will be held early in August. Already two newspapers, the *Plain Dealer* and the *Press*, have announced their opposition. The League of Women Voters, the Typographical Union and the Progressive Party group went on record as against the amendment early in May. A number of councilmen have announced their opposition to a change at this time. The chairman of the Republican Central Committee has stated that the committee would take no position on the measure as a committee. Plans are being made for a vigorous campaign in defense of the present charter.

MAYO FESLER.



New Exit Highways for New York City.—A situation has arisen on Long Island which requires immediate planning to prevent chaotic

traffic conditions in the suburbs of New York city and, at the suggestion of Governor Smith, state and local bodies have agreed upon a plan for parkways and boulevards in Nassau county to meet the problems created by the growth of the city and the construction of new city boulevards. The plan arrived at has been presented to the people with the governor's endorsement, and it only remains for the various units to carry it out. The expenses will be borne in part by the state and in part by the county. The governor urges immediate action to acquire the necessary rights of way. Due to the rapidly increasing population, every day that goes by adds to the difficulty and expense of obtaining them.

New York city is constructing boulevards and streets, with a total pavement width of about 700 feet, which will disgorge traffic into Nassau county upon through routes of less than 150 pavement feet. The county roads are thus seen to be wholly inadequate to meet the arduous demand which will be made upon them, and unless prompt action is taken a situation will develop disastrous to the life of the villages and communities in this part of Long Island, and injurious to people going from New York city into the country. Governor Smith therefore calls upon the county to match the highway development within the city proper.



New State Police Forces.—The closing weeks of the legislative sessions brought with them the establishment of a state police force in Rhode Island and the extension of general police powers to the state highway maintenance patrol in Illinois.

The Rhode Island statute is sound in its main outlines and follows in a general way the scheme of organization already set up in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. Although the force which has been authorized is of exceedingly modest proportions, the territory for which it will be directly responsible is smaller than many counties and is reasonably compact.

The Illinois statute, on the other hand, opens the way for the employment of seven hundred and fifty patrolmen under conditions which offer no promise of successful administration. There is nothing either in the act or in the circum-

stances which attended its presentation and passage to indicate that it was conceived in good faith as a means for dealing with the rural crime problem. It is unlikely that competent and well-disciplined police officers will be developed as a result of it. Moreover, the force will almost necessarily be employed in the intensive patrol of state highways, while experience has demonstrated that the remote hamlets and villages frequently demand most attention both as to patrols and criminal investigations.

BRUCE SMITH.



Milwaukee Civic Center Plans Halted.—The so-called civic center ordinance committing the city of Milwaukee to a grouping of public buildings, approved by the voters in 1920, was repealed at the election on April 7, by a vote of 45,151 to 21,924. The movement which brought about this repeal had its prime incentive not in opposition to the civic center as such, but rather in opposition to an assessment of benefits made principally on account of the widening of Cedar and Biddle Streets which was a part of a larger project of six component elements, one being the civic center.

The parties favoring the repeal, after securing 18,000 signatures to a petition requesting the common council to submit the repeal ordinance to the voters, carried on an intensive advertising campaign.

Civic societies and friends of the civic center made a vigorous fight, but had insufficient funds properly to meet this attack.

As a result of this vote progress on all of the six projects has temporarily halted. These are the civic center, the widening of Ninth Street, the widening of Cedar Street, the erection of a bridge across the Milwaukee River, the widening of Biddle Street and the connection between Biddle Street and Prospect Avenue.

Half of the land in the civic center has already been acquired, including two squares acquired by the county board for a courthouse.

Although the vote is not binding on the county government, the erection of the courthouse has likewise been given a temporary setback.



Seattle Street Railway "Profits"

To the Editor of the "National Municipal Review":

It seems to me that your interesting story of the Seattle Street Railway, and the profits which

you cite,¹ would be a bit more interesting if you printed all the economic facts relative to this municipal-owned railway.

Under the Stone-Webster ownership and management, the Seattle street railways paid in 1918 a tax of \$752,736.63. If we should reckon this loss of taxes, your profits would turn into a net loss of about \$400,000 for the last year, supposing the tax which the private company paid was the same now as in 1918; it probably would be more.

Then again: We find that there is a net deficit of \$616,000 due to the net losses in those years when the city enjoyed a five-cent fare rate. I was in Seattle last year for several weeks, and I paid ten cents fare, which is the rate that the city receives from visitors, as a rule.

Again: If that street railway was under private ownership, the city government would not permit any private corporation to charge above eight cents fare, and on top of this the city would force a tax of \$800,000, probably more, and they would force the corporation to pave the streets between the rails, etc., etc.

Lastly: Seattle is far more fortunate in her wonderful water-power advantages than almost any other city in America. Even if Seattle could make net profits on a street railway, it doesn't follow that other cities in this nation could make profits. Private ownership is always more economical than politicalization of any utility.

Haverhill, Mass.

F. G. R. GORDON.



Cleveland's New Municipal Code.—Cleveland, Ohio, has recently republished its general ordinances as a codified volume, enacted into a single ordinance.

A previous codification was made in 1921, but the adoption of the city manager charter, going into effect in 1924, rendered extensive changes necessary in the administrative provisions of the ordinances, and these were found to ramify so far as to make a complete recodification advisable.

The old council foresaw the need of a new administrative code at the opening of the new régime, and undertook to establish an administrative code commission to revise the old and to provide new ordinances as the situation should require. Fred Kohler, the last mayor with the

¹ *News Item*, p. 326, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for May.

veto power, set out to block this project, and succeeded in delaying it for a number of weeks. While the commission submitted its report on December 31, 1923, it took several weeks longer to get it printed and ready for formal introduction into council. It was necessary to refer the code to numerous committees, and this circumstance, together with the summer vacation, deferred the final passage of the revised code until late in September, and it was put into effect on October 1, 1924.

Meanwhile, the provisions of the code which were necessary immediately to facilitate administration under the new form of government were introduced and passed as separate ordinances, later to be repealed when incorporated into the code as passed.

In preparing the code it was found that by no means all the general ordinances enacted since the Municipal Code of 1921 had been properly keyed into that code. Some had been passed as amendments to prior ordinances which had been incorporated into the 1921 code, the original ordinance being then repealed. Some had been passed as new ordinances, with no cognizance taken of the existence of a code. The records were carefully searched and such ordinances were properly fitted into the new code. Especial care is being taken to prevent the recurrence of such a situation, by requiring all new ordinances of general nature to be keyed into the new code as passed. It is planned to issue annual supplements, assembling all amendments and new sections in effect at the time of issue.

The administrative code commission employed as its secretary, Emmett L. Bennett of Cleveland. He not only suggested a great deal of the new matter in the administrative code, and drafted whatever was required, but also undertook the work of checking out the changes previously made, so as to assure the accuracy of the code as finally passed. He also prepared the comprehensive index to the new code for its publication in book form.

CLAYTON C. TOWNES,
Mayor of Cleveland.



Home Rule Litigation in New York.—Though the cities of New York state have possessed home rule powers for at least a year, less than one hundred and forty laws have been passed by the fifty-nine cities in the state, and indeed twenty-four, including cities as large as Utica, Albany and Poughkeepsie, have made no use whatever

of their newly acquired powers. The output itself of local legislation has been most noteworthy for its paucity and insignificance. Perhaps this is due to caution and to the praiseworthy efforts of the supporters of home rule to see that the movement is not discredited. It might also be mentioned that municipal elections occur throughout the state this year.

The first important decision involving the home rule amendment was handed down May 11. This decision covered two taxpayers' actions brought to restrain New York city from undertaking to engage in the municipal operation of buses under a series of four local laws passed in January of this year. Buffalo, which has passed a similar local law, was also represented.

The first of these cases, *Broune vs. The Board of Estimate*, not only attacked the local operation of buses but sought to prove that the home rule amendment itself and everything based upon it was invalid. It was contended in the first place that the resolution amending the constitution was not entered in the Legislative Journals in full, but merely by title. The second objection relates to the requirement in New York that a constitutional amendment be passed by two successive legislatures. Concerning this it was insisted that an amendment ratified by the people in November of 1922 nullified the home rule amendment which had been passed by the legislature for the first time during the previous session. One difficulty with both these objections was that the same could be said with regard to several recent, important amendments including some providing for bond issues. The court held that a descriptive entry "seemed sufficient," and that it could find no warrant either explicitly or by implication for the second contention.

The other suit, decided in the same opinion, accepted the validity of home rule, but argued that the powers granted to the city under home rule do not embrace public utilities.¹

It need only be recalled that the city's powers are restricted to its "property, affairs and government." This phrase was used previously in the state constitution in connection with the requirement that all special city bills which were defined as those relating to "property, affairs and government" must be accepted by the mayor of the city affected.

Two cases, *Admiral Realty Company vs. City of*

¹The scope of the New York home rule amendment was covered in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for April by Laurence Tanzer.

New York, 206 N. Y. 110, and *In re McAneny vs. Board of Estimate*, 232 N. Y. 377, decided before the passage of the home rule amendment held that acts relating to public utilities need not be submitted to the city even though both the cases involved acts which applied only to cities with more than a million population, which could only mean New York city. The deliberate inclusion of this phrase in the home rule amendment indicates, so it is contended, that public utilities were not comprehended in the grant. This contention the court also overrules, explaining that in the two cases mentioned the statutes were sustained as general laws, though it might be added that at the time of these cases general law meant a law that did not apply to "property, affairs and government." The court further finds that in the case of *Sun Printing & Publishing Company vs. the Mayor*, 152 N. Y. 257, it was held that subways, *i.e.* public utilities, were a city purpose. But this case arose over the question of whether the employment of city funds and credit for subways was a proper purpose and did not relate to the question whether public utilities were within the sphere of city or state control.

This decision is not final, and steps have already been taken for a speedy appeal to the higher courts of the state.

Though the advocates of home rule have prided themselves on having thus far generally escaped litigation, the broad and general nature of the grant makes resource to the courts inevitable. Perhaps the advocates of home rule should really welcome, if not the occasions, at least the opportunity for authoritative court interpretation. The discovery of the real meaning of the phrase "property, affairs and government" can only be made by the courts, and it is best obtained by having litigation proceed step by step with legislation.

JOSEPH MCGOLDRICK.



Depreciation Reserve of San Francisco Municipal Railway.—A detailed study and report on the depreciation requirements of the San Francisco Municipal Railway has been completed by the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research.

"The depreciation of the Municipal Railway or any similar property is a day-by-day wearing out of cars, motors, wire, track, roadbed and other components, due to service or time or both," the report declares. "It is an operating

cost as certainly and as directly as the wages of the men who operate the property.

"The proper handling of the cost of depreciation is always complicated, however, by the fact that, while the costs accrue daily, the actual expenditures are postponed until the end of the life of the various component parts."

The report sums up the bureau's complete study of the problem with the following enumeration of points:

1. The depreciation fund balance, as of June 30, next, the end of the current fiscal year, should amount to approximately \$2,900,000 to insure the future replacement of the component parts of the property, as these wear out in service, or due to age.

2. The property, being new, has to date required expenditures for replacement purposes, chargeable to depreciation, of only \$136,000.

3. With a present depleted balance in the depreciation fund, provision should be made for the reconstitution of this fund in any proposal by the supervisors of a bond issue for railway purposes.

4. With provision made for an adequate balance in the depreciation reserve fund, equivalent to the accrued depreciation of the various parts of the property, a sum approximately \$287,000 a year should be set aside to cover annual depreciation.

5. The \$287,000 annual charge proposed is approximately 4.9 per cent of the "depreciable property" of the Municipal Railway, which is considered as 78 per cent of the cost of the whole property.

6. That the annual charge for depreciation purposes should be set up at 4 per cent of the cost of the property, exclusive of the cost of the land.

The Bureau believes that the proper method of estimating depreciation requirements is on the basis of reproduction costs.

It has been the practice of the San Francisco Municipal Railway to set aside 18 per cent of gross revenues for a so-called depreciation fund. This fund has even been drawn for bond redemption, accident and damage claims, operating deficits and other non-depreciation expenditures, so that the net balance for depreciation purposes has averaged only 5.6 per cent of gross revenues. Counting other appropriations which have been made from the fund but which are as yet unexpended, the actual depreciation fund approximates at present only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of gross revenues.

At the end of last December the balance in the fund was \$1,125,000. Against this are appropriations for extensions and betterments amounting to \$1,540,000, resulting in a contingent deficit instead of a balance of \$2,900,000, which the Bureau believes the fund should contain.

It is admitted that 18 per cent of gross revenues have been set aside each year, but that this has been used largely for extensions, bond redemption, accident claims and operating deficits. It appears, however, that the amount expended from revenues for bond redemption, extensions and betterments has equalled reasonable depreciation on existing properties, and if so the shortage in the depreciation fund will be considered by many as of little significance or importance.

The basis of estimating depreciation, adopted by the Bureau, is debatable. It is also questionable whether it is fair to ask a street railway to maintain full depreciation reserves when bond redemption and extensions financed from earnings are at least equal to depreciation. Without passing judgment upon the financial policy of the San Francisco Municipal Railway, we feel that the standards of judgment of the San Francisco Bureau are unusually difficult. Most privately owned street railways do not attempt to retire bonds from earnings and very few, if any, have undertaken to maintain depreciation funds upon anything like the basis here proposed.

✱

Milwaukee Service-at-Cost Contract Defeated.—The service-at-cost contract proposed between the city of Milwaukee and the local electric utility was defeated at the polls on April 7 by a two-to-one vote.¹

The contract proposed was the result of a five-year negotiation by a committee of citizens and aldermen appointed by the president of the common council together with representatives of the Electric Company. It embodied several features which are unique in such contracts.

Among the provisions of the contract were the following:

The establishment of intermediate local regulation through a utilities commissioner between the people and the state commission.

The establishment of rates for all services at cost with a reasonable return to the company.

The substitution of an automatic revision of

¹For a fuller description of the proposed contract see the REVIEW for January, 1925.

rates for the present cumbersome and inadequate method of appeal to the state railroad commission.

The definite establishment of the valuation of the properties of the company for rate-making purposes. This valuation was based on historical cost.

Excessive reserve accumulations were to accrue to the benefit of the users by reducing the rate base.

An incentive to economical financing was provided by assuring the company one-half of the increased differential resulting from a lower interest rate on borrowed money.

The contract lacked a direct incentive to efficient management, but with the present management and the constant audit and check which the city was to have on the affairs of the company it was felt that the tendency toward inefficiency would be less under the contract than at present.

The contract was submitted to the common council on September 15, 1924, and public hearings, which were but poorly attended, were held at intervals throughout the winter.

The committee which drafted the contract made every effort to bring its merits to the attention of civic organizations and the public generally.

One newspaper violently opposed the contract and certain interests ran large paid advertisements in the newspapers.

The paid advertisements appearing in the newspapers contained statements frequently misleading and tended to arouse the latent antagonism to the Electric Company.

Friends of the contract were unable to meet these advertisements in a dignified way, nor had they the funds to do so. The reasons why the contract was defeated can probably be summed up as follows:

1. A feeling that it was a step toward municipal ownership.
2. A fear that it would subject the utility to political manipulation.
3. That the contract must be disadvantageous for the city since it was acceptable to the company.
4. The fear on the part of some interests that the company's employees might be unionized.
5. Suspicion of the company aroused by adverse advertising.
6. The voters were apathetic to a change since no acute situation existed demanding a change,

as was the case in many cities when service-at-cost contracts were adopted.



Exposures in Detroit City Government.—

Detroit has been receiving much national publicity recently over exposures, or alleged exposures, of graft in her municipal government. Persons in position to know, believe that the corruption has been greatly exaggerated, and reports in the Hearst press, colored by local political motives, should be discounted heavily.

About the time the present mayor, John W. Smith, took office last November, it was discovered that the superintendent of street cleaning had signed vouchers certifying that several thousand yards of cinders had been delivered to the city, that payment had been made of \$7,500, and that there was no record of the delivery of the cinders. This fact was played up in the papers and the money refunded. As is natural in a heated political campaign, there had been a good deal of gossip about maladministration, and as a result of this exposure, plus innuendos, Mayor Smith requested the prosecutor to ask for a one-man grand jury. The judge selected was the Honorable Frank Murphy, whose election had been espoused by the newspaper supporting Mr. Smith for mayor. The investigation for the grand jury was done largely by William Curran, budget director of the city, and by the staff of his bureau.

Naturally there were a great many anonymous letters and the publication of a large amount of material that had apparently been gathered by one of the newspapers during the campaign. This carried front-page publicity for weeks and was distasteful to all concerned.

The findings of the grand jury may be summed up briefly as follows:

1. The owners of the Detroit Asphalt Paving Company were accused of conspiracy in connection with street paving. This company has had a substantial monopoly of asphalt paving for many years, a situation that has been repeatedly commented upon in the press and other grand jury proceedings. Judge Murphy recommended the dissolution of the company and the prosecution of its owners, who are all contractors. Civic organizations have been working actively for the establishment of a municipal asphalt plant and independent competition by the city itself. It is expected that this competition will be secured in another year.

2. Three men were indicted for conspiracy

to defraud in connection with the purchase of a morgue site for the county. It appears that a broker making the sale secured an unreasonably large commission and split it between a county employee and a former county employee who may or may not have had anything to do with the selection of the site. The amount involved was in the neighborhood of \$5,000.

3. It was discovered that sidewalks were not being laid according to specifications and that the public was being mulcted out of many thousands of dollars each year on this account. The head of the sidewalk department was indicted for malfeasance in office, but it was not charged that he had received any benefit from his general inefficiency.

4. The superintendent and assistant superintendent of the motor transportation department were indicted for soliciting bribes in the purchase of oil, etc., and for holding up vendors for special favors. The judge very properly called the situation "sordid," but it seems that no large amounts were involved.

5. A number of employees in the department of public works were indicted for petty pilfering, selling rubbish tickets, holding up other employees for jobs, etc. The amounts involved were all small. Many business organizations have these difficulties with their lower rank employees. Probably the fact that punishment will be meted out to several individuals will act as a deterrent for some time.

The former commissioner of public works was criticized for his methods of allowing extras to contractors, but the whispered charges of corruption were not proven. The water board was also criticized for their dealings with contractors, but no indictment was made. The judge also commented on the conduct of a number of other departments, and the commissioner of parks has been dismissed,—some believe unjustly.

The whole turmoil is viewed as the opening guns of the political campaign this fall, when a mayor is to be elected for a full two-year term, along with a council of nine.



City Planning to Aid Prosperity in Toledo.—

The Toledo City Planning Commission recently issued a progress report which summarizes recommendations based upon completed studies as follows: Major Street, Transit, Railroad Transportation, Port, Industrial and Zoning reports. Two studies remain to be completed—Recreation and Civic Art.

The remarkable fact is that all these plans which prescribe in detail how the city can best expand, have been completed at the small cost of \$32,500. The technical portion of these plans has been done by the staff of Harland Bartholomew, St. Louis city planning engineer, but the recommendations and policies have been determined by the Toledo city plan commission.

The reports were prepared as an answer to the generation-old challenge—Why have Detroit and Cleveland grown so much faster than Toledo? Three years ago Service Director Jackson and the city planning commission decided that the only way for this city to get started on that development which its natural resources merit was by making plans which would accurately outline how this growth was to be accomplished.

One of the strongest links in this chain of plans is the Industrial Survey, which is not ordinarily included in city plan reports. This close analysis of local businesses, industries and markets is presented in such a way as to make it possible for potential investors to know what kind of local commercial or industrial investment offers promise of the greatest returns. One section is devoted to a thorough analysis of the sources and destinations of the principal commodities shipped to and from Toledo. The labor market is studied with reference to industrial troubles and citizenship. Housing conditions are described. The local financial institutions and their policies with respect to the encouragement of new businesses are scrutinized. Educational and recreational facilities are touched upon. A general summary containing important city statistics with reference to taxation and other matters likely to affect the growth of industries is given.

From the above the following recommendations are made regarding industrial development:

1. Development in the manufacture of 18 varieties of commodities because of the proximity to the sources of raw materials and markets.
2. Establishment of industries complementary to those already in operation.
3. These should include rolling mills, steel fabricating plants, auto body plants, other automotive industries, and railroad equipment factories.
4. Establishment of industrial "incubators" such as factory buildings, where small concerns can operate until they have money enough to put up a plant of their own.

Naturally there is a close correlation between the Port survey and Railroad Transportation study. The outstanding need in the Toledo railway situation, according to this report, is trackage sufficient to afford a free and unobstructed road through the Toledo gateway as well as to provide adequate switching facilities for local shipments. Establishment of classification yards outside the city to relieve the present switching congestion adjacent to the terminals is urged, as well as a more extensive use of the Toledo Terminal Railroad.

As a result of conferences with railway officials, the city plan engineers have worked out a number of track changes in a program which, if followed, will afford the most efficient development of Toledo's railroad facilities.

This report also embodies a grade separation program including 15 projects to be completed over a period of 10 years. Estimates of costs are set up which will permit the financing to be arranged so as to impose a minimum burden on the city and railroads.

The Port survey provides for a municipal water terminal on the Maumee River located with reference to the railroad switching facilities. It recommends the development of the lower river for dock purposes and the bay as a mooring basin. This report also points out the exact benefits the city may expect from the anticipated completion of the St. Lawrence waterways project.

It further recommends that the city acquire as much water-front property as possible, and suggests the formation of a port district. This study asserts that the port of Toledo, on an investment to date of only \$3,000,000, saves this country about \$60,000,000 yearly in freight transportation costs, because of the local harbor facilities.

The Major Street Plan embodies 18 recommendations which include the proposed Harding Memorial Bridge over the Maumee River, development of the Miami and Erie canal bed as a rapid transit thoroughfare to the south of the city, besides numerous street openings, widenings, extensions and surfacing. Carrying out these recommendations will go a long ways towards remedying the city's present acute traffic problem due to the bottling up of certain sections by the Maumee River and its tributaries which run through the corporation environs.

The Transit report embodies 14 recommendations to re-route the traction lines and to estab-

lish cross-town bus lines. Several of these suggestions are being carried out.

The Toledo zoning ordinance has been in operation over a year, and it is now possible to ascertain its effect on building and conditions generally. During that time there has been a marked increase in building operations which if it cannot be credited to the zoning ordinance at least the latter may not be said to have deterred building. The total value of the structures erected during the year October, 1923-1924 aggregated \$6,800,000, as compared with \$4,000,000 during the preceding similar period. Changes in the ordinance have been made with little difficulty and its efficiency has not been impaired by any court decision.

C. A. CROSSER.



The Significance of the International Planning Conference.—The recent meeting of the International Planning Federation, in New York city, in which our National Conference on City Planning joined, was the first session of that body to be held on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. The conference came here on the invitation of eleven National societies devoted to planning, in which the New York State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning joined. Representatives of twenty-two local organizations of prominence, among which was the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, united with interested citizens in receiving the five hundred delegates from all parts of the United States, and the hundred representatives of twenty-one foreign countries. Typical of the spirit of the occasion was the opening luncheon given jointly by eight of these organizations never before so united. The Grand Central Palace, thrown open for two weeks to the delegates and the public, was devoted to an exhibition of planning and allied arts throughout the world. A large audience filled the assembly room at every session, even those held at ten in the morning. The notices in all the principal papers of the country were generous. The conference was recognized as a great event in this country.

And the conference was in fact a great event. Among the delegates were our own leading city planners and such foreigners as Ebenezer Howard, father of the Garden City movement, and Raymond Unwin, one of its leading exponents, August Bruggemann, professor at the Paris School of Higher Civics; Prof. Sverre Pederson, city architect of Trondhjem, Norway;

Dr. Stubben, the veteran planner of Germany; Dr. A. Keppler, director of housing at Amsterdam, Holland, and many city architects, mayors and other officials. The formal papers of a high order were, in accordance with European custom, printed and distributed in advance, thus making intelligent discussion possible. These papers took up a great variety of subjects, some of which, in spite of their importance, promise no permanent relief from the growing evils of metropolitan life, but only, like all palliatives, tend to their ultimate aggravation. Most of the subjects chosen, however, dealt with some phase of congestion and its many related evils so rapidly increasing in our larger cities and so inevitably coming in our smaller ones unless we have the wisdom and self-restraint to find and apply a remedy. Among these papers may be mentioned those with relation to garden cities, which, whatever else they may signify, mean for us permanent open spaces in and around our urban centres; planning unbuilt areas, so that congestion of developed areas may not be repeated there; and regional planning, the only complete cure for this and related evils.

Especially significant was a paper on "The Government of Metropolitan Areas"; for as the author says:

The alluring idea of the regional plan is already accepted by the enlightened and imaginative. The time is coming, however, when you must take deliberate thought of regional government. For without regional government the fabric of your dreams will fray out to tattered fragments. . . . Regional planning encounters no more opposition than the propositions of speculative philosophy. . . . The proposition of regional government, however, at once arouses antagonisms. . . . It means the breaking up of vested political interests—some readjustment in party activity, some pruning of the tree of patronage. You will have beautiful regional plans on paper long before you have regional organization fit to carry them out. The conclusion is inescapable. If it is worth while to plan for streets and parks and terminals, it is worth while to plan for institutions of government. It is the way of specialists to take for granted everything outside their specialty. It will not do, however, to assume that arterial highways may be planned, but that government just happens. The one requires and deserves planning as much as the other.

More important always than the formal business of a conference, are the informal contacts among the delegates with their experience gathered from so many different sources. The excursions arranged to show these delegates our

zoning, parks and housing, with their visits to Sunnyside, Jackson Heights and Bear Mountain furnished many opportunities for comment and comparison, as did also breakfasts in accidental groups of three or four and little dinners arranged for the discussion of special problems.

Formally and informally the conference served as an occasion for the interchange of points of view such as has never before been afforded the city planners and city officials of this country. To the man who knows only his local problem in its local setting, even that problem is but half known. For sound accurate knowledge breadth of view is needed, and the great contribution of the international conference was a measure of breadth of view.

FRANK B. WILLIAMS.

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The Pension Embroglio in Chicago.—The subject of pensions for public employees promises to be a live one in Chicago, judging from the recent bulletin (No. 66) of the Citizens' Association of Chicago. The management of the police pension fund, which was reorganized three years ago on an actuarial basis, is under investigation. The soundness of some of the features of the system is under question. The opinions as to the lines along which future improvement or extension of pension provisions should proceed in Chicago are divided.

"About a year ago," says the bulletin, "The Citizens' Association uncovered serious wrongdoing in the management of the Chicago police pension fund under a former board, whereby widows and children of deceased policemen had been defrauded of many thousands of dollars through official collusion." On the strength of a report published by the Association, an investigation by the city council was undertaken. George C. Sikes, formerly of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, was appointed secretary of the police pension board; "two unfit trustees, who had been chosen by the active police and by the pensioners to represent them on the board, were defeated for re-election," and other substantial changes in the board were effected.

Apparently, there is dissatisfaction in some quarters with the reorganization effected in the board, for a bill has been introduced in the legislature (House No. 396) intended to give the active police a larger voice in the management of the fund and to deprive the pensioners of their present representation on the board. It provides for a board of seven members, three of

whom are to be appointed by the mayor, three elected by the active policemen, and the seventh is to be the city treasurer. "This," says Mr. Sikes in a statement quoted at length in the bulletin, "nominally will give the public control of the board by a majority of one. But the appointees of the mayor will not be in control. I contend that in the long run a solid block of three, with a group interest to serve, and powerful politically, as policemen are, will dominate a board of seven, where the other four members do not represent a solid group interest."

Such a dominant control by the employees would be wrong, according to Mr. Sikes, who says: "The taxpayers of Chicago are contributing to the police pension fund between four and five times as much as the policemen contribute. On that ground alone it seems to me that agents of the responsible head of the city government—the mayor—should have clear and decisive control of the board."

While the embroglio over the police pensions is still in process of development, the county employees of Cook county come forward with a bill, which they have caused to be introduced in the legislature (Senate No. 226), providing for a pension system for them modeled substantially along the lines of the Chicago police pension law. In at least one feature—that of administration—they go further even than the proposed amendment of the policemen: to wit, they provide for a pension board of five, three of whom are to be elected by the employees, and the other two are to be the county comptroller and the county treasurer. They are to have a majority of the board, although the funds will come principally from the county. This prompts Mr. Sikes to the following comment:

A self-respecting public should not allow a group of public employees to frame a law in their own interest, taking money from the taxpayers for their own benefit, without careful consideration of the measure from the public point of view. It is especially objectionable that the control of such a fund, when created in that manner, should be turned over to the interested group concerned. If the public ever shall get the notion that pension funds are in part devices for opening pipe lines into the public treasury, with the taps controlled by the beneficiaries, there is likely to be a revolt against the whole pension idea that will be harmful to the welfare of public employees.

The police pension law after which the bill is modeled, although established on an actuarial basis and containing many admirable features, is,

as Mr. Sikes says, "involved, complex and very hard to understand—needlessly so, in my opinion. No other pension law in the country, outside of Chicago, is so difficult to comprehend. In the course of time the Chicago police pension law ought to be recast and simplified." It is not an altogether good model from which to copy. The county pension bill contains many features, according to him, which are "indefensible and would not be included if they were understood by the legislature."

Mr. Sikes recommends that "the county pension bill should be dropped for the present session and a thorough study of the subject made on behalf of the public in preparation for action two years hence."

Such a study may well nigh be made comprehensive, for, besides the problems mentioned, other pension problems present themselves and must be solved. The Chicago firemen's pension fund is said to be "facing bankruptcy within a few years, on the basis of present income and outgo." The Chicago teachers' pension fund is on an unsound basis and grants pensions (of \$600 or \$800) which are insufficient in amount. In order to remedy this insufficiency the board of education, according to the bulletin, advances a proposal (House bills 520 and 521) for the payment from the public treasury of pensions of \$1,500 to every teacher retiring at 70 years of age, in addition to the pension paid from the fund. If such a proposal were ever enacted, the result would be that the teachers would be inclined to remain in the service until 70 years of age, when they could secure a relatively good income, and the schools would be full of superannuated teachers. A real remedy would be very different from this, but it could be devised only after a very thorough actuarial study. The

general municipal pension system, the establishment of which preceded by a year the establishment of the present police pension system, just as the latter, contains many features which are far too liberal and which it will be very difficult for the city to maintain on a permanent basis. A revision of this system is thoroughly needed.

The city administrators and the local civic organizations of Chicago are beginning to be alarmed over the extreme liberality of the new pension systems and pension proposals for the city and county service, and well they may be, for the costs to the taxpayers under these systems will be considerable. If they attempt to curtail the privileges offered, they will meet with a strong organized opposition. It is much easier to prevent the inclusion of extreme provisions in a retirement system than to take them out after they have been established. The city administration and the civic bodies were apparently asleep at the switch at the time the reorganization of the pension systems was being discussed and when they could have influenced it and kept it from extremes. Under the conditions of indifference of the city and the civic bodies, the employees took initiative in the matter and accomplished in part a laudable reform. In doing so, however, they also succumbed to some extent to the selfish instinct and went in certain respects beyond proper limits.

The danger now is that the pendulum may swing too much the other way—against any participation of the employees in the framing or management of retirement systems. The preservation of a proper balance is desired. It alone will secure a just and lasting adjustment of a delicate situation.

PAUL STUDENSKY.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES ABROAD

CONTRIBUTED BY W. E. MOSHER

Arbitration for Civil Servants in England.—Since the initiation of the National Whitley Council in 1919 there has been almost a continuous pressure on the part of the employees for some means of arbitrating claims along the lines adopted in the pre-war period. A treasury order was issued as a result of this pressure under the date of March 26, 1925, which embodied

the recommendations of the committee of the National Whitley Council.

The machinery for arbitration is that of the Industrial Court established in 1919. The chairman of the court is to be either the president of the court or someone appointed by him. The two members associated with the chairman are to be selected from two panels, the one represent-

ing the chancellor of the exchequer and the other the employee side of the National Whitley Council.

With limitations as to minimum amounts, claims for salary adjustments, hours, leave, overtime subsistence and other allowances, etc., may be submitted to the court on the motion of either departments or associations of civil employees. It is stipulated, however, that only matters affecting "classes" of employees and not individuals are to be handled in this way.

With the above provision for arbitration, England is joining certain of her colonies that have already recognized this principle in dealing with public employment problems.—*Whitley Bulletin, March, 1925.*



London County Council.—The clerk of the London county council has prepared a compact and comprehensive statement concerning the office organization of this unique body. It is accompanied by an organization chart of two of the chief divisions that gives one the complete story at a glance. The value of this contribution may be measured by the statement that, with regard to certain generalizations, the only alternative is a perusal of the minutes of the council from 1889 to date. In spite of the fact that these are dubbed "genial documents," one would hesitate to prefer the latter as an alternative to the very lucid and informative summary prepared by the clerk.

The writer excludes from consideration the functions of the council and its committees, restricting himself to the work of the executives and staff. This he divides into (1) committee work of an administrative character, (2) professional and technical work as in engineering, medicine, law, and (3) special work as licensing, fire fighting, finance, etc.

The guiding principles, to be deduced from past principles, are also three in number: (1) direct and undivided responsibility, (2) organization of departments on basis of function, (3)

avoidance of unnecessary interference with work of officers by committees of council.

In discussing the committee responsibilities of the clerk of council, the Education and the Mental Hospital Committees—these are the three main units—a rapid sketch of the duties of the clerk is drawn. He emerges as a general co-ordinator and universal factotum.

Less than a page is then devoted to a job analysis of the several chief professional and technical officers. Specific data are included in each case. For instance, it is reported that the chief engineer is responsible for 370 miles of main sewers, twelve pumping and outfall stations, and six sludge vessels, each with a carrying capacity of 7,000 tons, while the quantity of sewerage to be disposed of is 18,250 gallons per head per annum for a population of 5,500,000. The daily average of sewage falling to the outfalls is about 240,000,000.

Other departments are handled in the same way. To cite some outstanding figures: the stores department, handling all supplies, spends over 2,000,000 pounds a year; the valuation department, in charge of most public buildings, has a rent roll of 750,000 pounds a year; the fire brigade makes 20,500 inspections of amusement places annually, and in its ambulance service makes in the neighborhood of 27,000 calls per year.

The second main division of the survey has to do with the personnel. The questions of recruitment and classification are briefly discussed. This is followed by a summary of the composition of the county clerk's and the architect's organizations. Two pages are then devoted to charts of these units.

The author is to be congratulated on his success in bringing together in so brief a space so clear and understandable a statement about this highly complicated unit of government, the London county council.—*Montagu Cox, clerk of the London County Council, in the Journal of Public Administration, April, 1925.*